

THE
CHURCH QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—RELIGION IN LONDON.

1. *Life and Labour of the People in London*. Third Series. By CHARLES BOOTH. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1903.)
2. *The Religious Census for London*. (*Daily News*, 1902-3.)
3. *The Religious Census of London*, 1886. (Reprinted from the *British Weekly*.)
4. *The Religious Census*, 1851.
5. *Directories of the Dioceses of London, Rochester, and St. Albans*. *Year Books* of the Federated Free Church Union, Baptist Union, and Congregational Union.
6. *Reports* (over periods averaging five years) of the Additional Curates' Society, the Church Pastoral Aid, London Diocesan Home Missions, East London Church Fund, Bishop of London's Fund, London Diocesan Council for Preventive and Rescue Work, Rochester Diocesan Society, Bishop of St. Albans' Fund, London City Mission, Christian Evidence Society, Committee on Housing of the Rochester Diocesan Conference, 1903.
7. *Papers*: *The Times*, *The Church Times*, *The British Weekly*, *The Commonwealth*.
8. *Interviews*.

VIEWED from afar, the metropolis of the British Empire strikes the imagination as the ordered home of a great
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national life; seen from within, it presents the spectacle of a bewildering array of houses and shops in inextricable confusion, which is slowly forcing its way over the country fields and along the lanes on every side. Viewed from afar, London suggests the thought of the heart of a great empire, a life throbbing with the sense of corporate union, with its grand corollaries of mutual responsibility and mutual service; in reality, to be a Londoner is to be a unit amongst units; to live to yourself and for yourself. A few acquaintances there may be, a handful of friends; but the Londoner lives as he likes, and where he likes—or at least he thinks he does. Of course, this idea is not strictly true; for it is possible to detect in the life of this great city certain streams into one of which every one tends to fall, which seriously interfere with the free choice of a home. From without, the various streams of alien, rural, Scotch, and Irish immigration, drive towards defined areas. Within, the stream of poverty draws some men irresistibly towards certain congested districts, while the counter current of prosperity carries others towards the outer ring of dwellings in search of pure air and better homes. Into one of these streams each individual tends to fall, or by another he tends to be affected, and so his choice of a home is not unfettered. As with the place he lives in, so with the manner of his life. Here, too, there are streams of tendency, influences, environments which curb and restrain each unit of the great total. Of these the religious influence runs broadly through the whole of London life. To isolate this from all others, to single out the religious motive from all other motives, to take Religion as a whole and measure its achievements, to indicate the conditions of success or failure of each particular ecclesiastical body, and to sum up the results of religious effort, is an exceedingly difficult task. To accomplish it, or even to approximate to its accomplishment, is to deal in a very valuable way with Religion in London.

Towards this study two efforts of unequal value have lately been made: one, the religious census for London, conducted by the *Daily News*; the other, the third series of the labours of Mr. Charles Booth.

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In the first an attempt has been made to sum up the results of religious effort by a simple test, namely, the numbers in attendance at a service on Sunday; and it may be conceded at once that if any such test is of value, this is the one test available, since the attendance at public worship is an object at which every religious organization, small or great, aims. The particular method of arriving at the figures adopted by the *Daily News* has been to visit on each succeeding Sunday (except Easter Day) a different borough, and to enumerate all those attending any service that takes place in that borough within stated hours. The results of the enumeration have been published week by week; and in two general summaries, also published, comparison is suggested between different boroughs and different religious organizations. At first sight so simple a test would appear to give an accurate snapshot of the efficiency either of religion as a whole, or of any special religious organization in London; and both as pointing the general moral that on an ordinary Sunday only a minority of Londoners attend any religious service at all, and also as a test of the efficiency of competing and often rival interests, the figures will probably be largely quoted.

Before, however, any thinking man accepts the judgment of figures, he will analyze them, he will weigh the limits of possible error, and he will examine whether the figures prove the suggested conclusions. Applying such a method to the census in question, it is to be noted that any census is open to one grave objection as a test of the efficiency of religion—its necessary disregard of values. The greatest saint and the last convert poll as equal in the counting of heads, though there is no real comparison between the two. This applies of course to the census under consideration, in common with all other such efforts; but there are some points in addition which in this particular inquiry demand careful examination. No question of the *bona fides* and accuracy of those actually engaged in the enumeration can be raised. Nor does the suggestion that the order in which the boroughs are enumerated shows a desire to enhance the value of some totals find sufficient evidence to carry conviction; but when the summaries, with their suggested inferences and

comparisons, are examined, the census returns become hopelessly complicated. In considering the comparisons of the boroughs, both to the total population and to one another, What difference does the weather make to an ordinary congregation? What proportion of the population can attend any service whatever on a given Sunday? Does this ratio vary for each borough, or is it constant throughout London? And what limits of error do the answers to these questions introduce into the deductions suggested in the summary?

A careful study of the able report prefixed to the religious census of 1851, with a comparison of some corrected returns in the *Daily News*, must lead to an unhesitating rejection of the inference suggested in this summary as being an understatement of the case all along the line, while as between the boroughs the limits of error are such as totally vitiate the value of the comparison. Again, in the other summary, with equal reluctance and with equal conviction the comparison between different organizations must be rejected for three reasons: 1. The figures thus thrown into one summary are figures obtained (with accuracy, no doubt) on four separate and distinct methods of enumeration. 2. The basis of enumeration entirely fails to take into account the varied methods of dealing with certain sections of the community, especially the children. And 3. It entirely fails to take into account the varied customs of different strata of society. It may be urged that on the whole it gives a fair and accurate view of the success of religious effort. On the contrary, it seriously understates the case, and for comparative purposes the return is useless. Whatever the true inference, whatever the true comparison, neither the one nor the other is to be found in the Religious Census for London 1902-3.¹

¹ We do not wish to be too critical, but the error in computing the early communicants at St. Mary Abbot, Kensington, is interesting. A curious instance of different methods of dealing with different religious bodies is afforded by a comparison of the Roman Catholic Church in Hatton Garden and St. Alban's, Holborn. In the one every service in the forenoon is counted, in the other only the 11 o'clock service, whereas the church has a celebration at 9, which is often as full as that at 11, with an entirely different congregation. Now did it happen, too, that the number at St. Alban's was given as 500 instead of 900?

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In dealing with the third series of *The Life and Labour of the People in London*, by Mr. Charles Booth, an entirely different estimate must be formed. In and out among the streets, the churches, the chapels, the halls of London has passed a body of singularly shrewd yet kindly observers, noting with practised eye not only the magnitude but the character of each religious effort; then the whole series of observations are drawn together in short chapters embodying the conclusions at which the observers have arrived, and dealing with each type of religious agency in turn, but with one striking exception—the influence of Judaism on the Jews. It would have added much to the interest and also to the value of Mr. Booth's book, even from a Christian point of view, if he had seen his way to giving a summary in his shrewd manner of a religious influence which is of growing importance in London; but with this exception the field covered is practically complete, until at last the final conclusion is drawn, a conclusion that every Churchman and every Christian worker will instinctively reject, even if he does not understand why.

Still, taking the work as a whole, and allowing for certain of the earlier parts, which in some few particulars, as Mr. Booth himself points out, are already out of date, the observation displayed is extraordinarily acute, and the conclusions singularly shrewd and temperate—so accurate, indeed, as tested by long familiarity with the ins and outs of London religious life, that even where by the evidence of fact we are bound to reject the conclusion at which Mr. Booth arrives, yet we always feel that the right conclusion has only been missed by a hair's-breadth, and that, in spite of their ultimate rejection, the criticisms of this book must still be carefully weighed and their full value attached to them. The reception given to the book should be a great one. In some cases it will be, and is, distinctly hostile. On the part of the Church, from the highest to the lowest, there is a keen desire to learn its lessons and profit by its criticisms, and no one who seriously studies the religious question as it affects England can afford to disregard Mr. Booth's keen criticism, especially since that criticism is based on a scientific method.

Yet as the book is read, finished, and laid down, it is at first, to any earnest Christian, an inexpressibly sad book—sad in its picture, sad in its conclusions ; for the first impression is of the awful failure of religious effort. It is this sense of failure that has called forth the final chapter, with its grim conclusion, that there are few indeed that be saved, and they but as brands plucked from the burning. Such a conclusion is inevitable when the scope of Mr. Booth's book is considered, such a conclusion is inevitable when the standard by which all religious effort is here measured is estimated. For in examining into his conclusions no one can fail to note the undoubtedly high standard by which the author has elected to judge religious influence. Churchmen will welcome this. If the Church is to be judged, the Church would wish to be judged by a high standard, and she is prepared to take the consequences ; but let it be remembered that the first consequence is that all work which is not of the highest type falls to the ground. Yet, in truth, much work not quite of the highest standard has in it some power for good, and real good too ; but naturally, as it has to be refined seven times in the fire to purge it of the dross, it is practically impossible to give such work its full weight in any book, even of seven volumes.

Secondly, the intensity, the growing intensity, in London of real religion is rightly noted. There is, and there is growing, a truer appreciation of Christianity as a life of service rather than a life of rest. The number who respond to such a conception is perhaps only the minority ; and as yet the small minority, but it is growing in numbers and in depth of devotion.

The effect of this nucleus is not easily to be sifted and measured. In any work the scope of which is necessarily limited, it is impossible to follow up each life and watch the leaven at work. So here this force naturally fails to receive adequate attention, more especially since its effect is found, not so much in the direct work undertaken, as in the slow ferment of a leavening influence. Go to the clergy of the south and east, and you will hear something of it, but not all ; for it is a growing power, and London has not as yet felt its full force.

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These two considerations must always be borne in mind to correct the sadness of the picture drawn by an able hand of the life and labour of the people of London, and they mitigate to a great extent the force of the final conclusion. So we pass on to the general question, and it is most simple to deal with this somewhat on the lines laid down in vol. vii., though not in the same order. The general attitude of the people to religion must first be considered. In 1851 this attitude was described as virtual secularism. To-day, to quote Mr. Booth, 'The secularist propaganda, though not suspended, is not a powerful influence.' This is true, though not quite to the extent here suggested, for within the past few months a tremendous effort has been made to revive by the publication or rather republication of agnostic literature in a cheap form the moribund energies of infidelity.

These books are having some effect—in the South of England, chiefly among the office-clerk class, both men and women. In the North the working-men are to some extent affected, though not as yet in the south. This, however, may happen in time to come, as the propaganda has captured one or two of the most enthusiastic leaders in the press of materialistic Socialism. It does not appear that these last have been turned against Christianity by enthusiasm for a new and better Gospel, but rather that they have thrown in their lot with the attack in the frenzy of a wild despair of the success of socialistic Materialism. Still, it would be well to meet this attack in its initial stages, and to take steps to defeat it again, as it was defeated twenty years ago.

Taking, however, the mass of the population, the great enemy of religion to-day is indifference, indifference seemingly so stolid, so apathetic, that it has taken the heart out of many an earnest and keen man, and left him weary and hopeless. Mr. Booth has seen this clearly, and in conjunction with his fascinating coloured maps has laid down the following rule: 'Where the streets are red, we find a vigorous middle-class religious development, combined with active social life. Where pink, there is as regards organized religion, a comparative blank. Where blue, we have the missions; and step by step as it deepens to black, the more

hopeless becomes the task'—so hopeless, indeed, that he appears to consider that not only is religion deluding itself in imagining that it is doing anything, but that it is deluding itself if it imagines it can do anything.

Such an inference is not an unnatural one to make. The man who comes from some outpost which he has inspected feels the full force of this deadening indifference and apathy. The man, too, who is giving his life's blood to grapple with it in intense and deadly earnest, equally shares the same feeling, and happy is such a one if the sense of the magnitude of his task does not eat the heart out of him. But the general truth of the conclusion drawn we challenge at once. We grant the indifference, we grant the apathy, but it is not quite the same in character as it was. In 1851 virtual secularism could be used as the correct term to describe the attitude of the mass to religion. To-day such a description would be a libel. Within the memory of some, within the span of the lifework of others, it could be said with truth that the general attitude was one of sullen and unreasoning hostility. It is not so to-day. It is true that that attitude may still be one of question, but generally it is not hostile question; it approaches, though not uniformly, to sympathetic question. Therefore a change has come, a noticeable change, and it means that religion has won, or perhaps more truly is winning, for itself respect.

We grant the apathy, we grant the indifference, but underneath it all there is something moving, something growing, and no one has touched the rock-bed of the attitude of the people to religion who has not grasped the meaning of this underlying movement; and this cannot be done in three years, or even in ten. Thus with a wider view we contend that the case is not so hopeless as is represented. Further, insufficient weight is easily attached to that bitter cry that comes from the workers among the poor, the echo of which rings through Mr. Booth's book, 'Our best people leave us.' To the man whose whole thought is concentrated on work in a circumscribed area; to Mr. Booth, who views such a man in relation to that area, this is so much loss. But it is not so; it is clear gain. And the very volume of the

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cry, often the very hopelessness of the worker, is the measure of his victory. The effort to deal with the housing question, as it affects the lower strata, seems but to shift the poorest from one congested area to another still more dreadful, but leaves them themselves exactly where they were. So far from religion having a hopeless task, religion is the only force that is touching them. In such localities the workers are terribly few, the positions ridiculously undermanned, and the work is being done at tremendous cost, for a man must have a heart of gold and nerves of steel to stand the constant strain. But the effort is telling. Religion has forced a change in the character of the general attitude, and the measure of its positive success is the measure of the insistent demand: Give us more men to stand by us and help us; and often also the measure of that terrible thing, a good man's despair.

It will be gathered from these important considerations that we do not entirely endorse Mr. Booth's view, simply because it does not appear to us to be the true inference from the whole range of fact.

The next thing to consider is the position of the Non-conformists and unsectarian agencies.

That much good work is being done by these, chiefly the Baptists, the Congregationalists, and the Wesleyans, is certainly true; but as the accuracy of the criticisms cannot be adequately dealt with except by those who are intimately acquainted with the inner working of a religious organization, these can here only be dealt with broadly. Among the larger bodies of Nonconformists, the Baptists, according to Mr. Booth, are doing the best and most real work. To the special reason for this allusion will be made later; but as far as an outsider can judge, the question of religion and class seems to give the true solution to the conditions of Nonconformist success.

In this connexion the most astonishing facts, which were known to many whose opinion finds in Mr. Booth's work ample justification, are the negative results attained by certain agencies.

To many the failure of the Salvation Army as a religious force will come as a surprise, and Mr. Booth's summing up is borne out by the rough test of the *Daily News* figures. The

splendid enthusiasm, the real devotion of the Army has no effect, and the lower the class aimed at the more hopeless and ineffective does the work become.

So, too, the absolute failure, as a religious force, of unsectarian effort will be a blow to many. The Unsectarian Gospel, at first sight so simple and so inclusive, with no doctrinal formulæ to control its liberty, and no organization, with its supposed narrowing tendencies, seems in these days (standing apart as it does from the strife of tongues) to many to recall the best features of the teaching of Christ, and to afford in its appeal to the broad principles of truth a far higher, far nobler basis of Christianity on which to appeal to man than a Christianity which is hemmed in within the walls of a doctrinal creed and saddled with an intricate organization; but the fact remains, of all failures the greatest is this Unsectarian Gospel.

From this sweeping generalization we must make one partial exemption, the London City Mission; for, by their visiting the men who serve this Mission are doing good religious work. It is noticeable that in accordance with one universal principle of successful religious work that runs through the whole religious life of London, the London City missionaries are asking for halls; and though, when their request is satisfied, these halls fail like the rest, yet exemption from the prevailing rule must be granted to the London City Mission, on the ground, and that alone, of the devoted visiting of its emissaries.

Of the Romanists we have not much to say. In London they are a growing force; but their recruits come almost exclusively from the natural increase of their own people, swelled by the various streams of immigration. Generally they have much the same difficulties as other people, but among its own adherents Romanism is a real and true religious force. It will be reassuring to many to learn that it is impossible to trace any stream of perverts from other organizations.

So we pass to the Church and her work. Throughout London, and quite irrespective of the tenets propounded, it is possible to draw a congregation. The aggregate of this will

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depend on many things. Perhaps the greatest of these is the gift of preaching. A man of magnetic personality and great gifts will always fill his church or chapel, if not from the immediate neighbourhood, then from a larger area. If the gifts are not of the highest class, then the lack is often made up by sensational advertizing, by music, or other means; but exceptional powers in any direction will draw exceptional congregations. After such exceptional gifts a slower but surer way is constant visiting; and if this does not give the largest congregations it gives the best results, for it is not enough to draw a congregation, that congregation must be held, and the members of it definitely and permanently influenced. Here the parochial system of the Church is of enormous value. True, it is often broken through, and boundaries are neglected; but it is invaluable as tending towards concentration of effort on a definite area. In his criticism of this system Mr. Booth sees its weak points, but the alternative he appears to suggest is on his own showing weaker still. Concentration of energy produces the best results, and the parochial system makes for concentration. It is on this ground too that the division of the Diocese of Rochester is of such importance. The matter was more fully dealt with in our last issue on the 'Needs of South London.' The only addition to that article needed is to say, in the best interests of the people of South London themselves, that those who, even from high motives, delay the division are undertaking a grave responsibility.

In the sections on parish institutions and methods of work there is much sound common-sense. Reference may be made here to two points only: first, the classification of parties within the Church seems in its method hardly satisfactory. Too much stress is laid on the extremes on either side, and too little on the great central party which reaches out on either side to touch those extremes. This in itself is a small point, but it affects the book throughout, and is perhaps the secret of that bias against what he considers High Church, to conquer which Mr. Booth makes such evident efforts, sometimes with such splendid success. Secondly, the relation of religious to social work within the Church,

especially the relation of definite religious influence to clubs of a more or less social character, is of great interest.

Not so very long ago the working-man's club was regarded as an essential to the well-worked parish—a large open club with no test, from which, and through which, the men should be brought under the influence of definite religion. But the clubs worked on this basis failed in the very purpose for which they were inaugurated. The men came to the club, but they would go no further.

Where the head of such a club was a strong man, the club was broken up and restarted on a fresh basis; and this basis, on the whole, seems to be a success. The new principle, which is being largely introduced, is to make the social work revolve round the church, so that the church should be in the truest sense the home of its adherents. In London the idea of corporate life is vanishing, and more and more the idea of home life is following it; the home is becoming but the room where the children feed and their elders sleep; the interests and the work of the people lie outside. For the church to take up the idea of home life, and make herself the centre of a home that shall throb with corporate life and embrace all right interests is to do a valuable work, and on these lines alone is the social work of the Church justifiable or justified.

Of the relations of parties within the Church to each other, and the effect of succeeding Church crises comparatively little is heard in London. Between the High and the Low there is much less feeling than is supposed; and whether he be High or Low, the more earnest a man is in the struggle against sin and evil the less does he trouble about the cut of his neighbour's surplice or the correct shape of his chasuble. The true antidote for Church crises is work, work, work.

Successful work is not the monopoly of any one party within the Church. In its best sense successful work is done just in proportion as any given man approximates to a certain ideal; and, as we follow Mr. Booth round London, the great lesson of his book, which he nowhere expressly states, is quite clear. This great principle, as brought before us in

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the labour and life of people in London, is very simple. It is one we all know, but seldom follow.

The first step is the touch of a sympathetic hand—sympathy, and true sympathy, not the effort to force others to a man's own groove, but the striving to understand and appreciate their view. This will attract; but if the influence is to be truly spiritual and the effect permanent, the worker must have behind him an organized Church and a clear, definite, positive system of teaching leading up to a personal Christ, and that teaching presented in a service of a congregational character and enshrined in ritual of an impressive description, such as that of the High Churchman or the Baptist; for the Baptists (although they would disclaim the accusation) are in their way strong ritualists. This is true all along the line, and is absolutely essential to success. It is true not only in the Church but throughout. For this reason Unsectarianism fails; for this reason, in spite of excessive ritual and unstinted enthusiasm, the Salvation Army fails; for this reason the London City missionaries call out for halls; for this reason, in Mr. Booth's book, the Baptists receive such appreciation. In their case the opening sentence of the summary on the Baptists gives the undoubted clue to their success: 'The strong effort made to maintain unity of doctrine is an essential characteristic of the Baptist, . . . and throughout the whole body the teaching is very definite.' In this connexion it is interesting to note that a careful study of Mr. Booth's volumes shows that this characteristic of the Baptists is mainly the work of Charles Haddon Spurgeon. No one who remembers his flaming denunciation of the down-grade movement can fail to see, in the light of these volumes, that it is Spurgeon's influence that has made the Baptists what they are to-day.

As without, so within the Church. Wheresoever a man's work approximates to the ideal here set forth, that work has the stamp of success impressed upon it.

Applying this principle to the Church, and reducing its enunciation to formal and clerical phraseology, In so far as a man approximates his work and teaching to Catholic principles in so far is he successful—and Mr. Booth's book adds the

comment, 'and no farther.' As bearing on the truth of this statement, the opinion of one who for thirty years has done good work in London is worth quoting: 'In all my experience Catholic teaching, appealing through the heart to the intellect, is unanswerable, and felt to be so. It may be and is refused, but I have never known its reasonableness brought into question.'

In using such terms as 'Catholic principles' and 'Catholic teaching' it must be clearly understood that these terms do not endorse fancy ritual of alien growth, the elaboration of the musical element of the service at the expense of its congregational character, or any teaching approximating to the peculiar dogmas of foreign teachers.

But the fact remains. Within the lines and along the lines of definite, clear, positive teaching on the basis of the Creeds, and in loyalty to the Church and the Lord who is her Supreme Head, is the only road in London to true success in Church work. To such fearless teaching the laity have no objection whatever. What they do object to is distinctly Roman teaching and an exaggeration of the minor niceties of ritual, which strikes in their minds a sense of unreality; and what they dislike almost as much is the monopoly of the service demanded by some excellent choirs.

It is to be noted that where for any reason the teaching is watered down to meet the supposed need of any section of the community—as, for instance, in some missions to the poorest—Mr. Booth at once notes a corresponding loss of efficiency.

In the various special kinds of work bearing on the work of the Church as a whole, Mr. Booth does not maintain an uniform excellence of treatment. As regards women's work, and especially the work of the Sisterhoods, he scarcely seems to grasp the situation. He has seen little groups of Sisters scattered throughout London, and has taken them in relation to the work and without reference to the life of the community, which underlies and gives strength to the work of Sisters. Hence in this section a sense of superficiality of treatment is felt throughout.

Again, in the question of preventive and rescue work the

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conclusions are singularly true, but in some particulars, at any rate as regards Church work, they are out of date, while the illustrations chosen are not representative.

As regards Settlements, Mr. Booth rightly regards these, in spite of Oxford House and Toynbee Hall, as still in the experimental stage. That they do much good work cannot be denied ; but their kind of work is spread over so large an area, and in character is so varied, that it is exceedingly difficult to judge its effect from a religious point of view.

It is, however, true to say that in the regulation of charity and the encouragement of thrift they are doing a very useful work, and in the future may here find their ample justification as a religious force by acting not only on the class they serve, but also on the class from which the residents are drawn. And if, in addition, the Settlements would take the lead on the Housing Question, a sphere of work lies open to them which would be fruitful in real service both to the poor and religion.

One other special kind of Church work must also be touched on : namely, the School and College Missions. These Missions are largely the outcome of an appeal by Bishop Thorold, directed in the first instance to Cambridge. In response several colleges, whose example was soon followed by many of the chief public schools and a few colleges in Oxford, determined to plant in some spot of exceptional difficulty a Mission. This was to be under the guidance of a man in holy orders, and was intended to serve as the centre for a given area of social work, with the ultimate view of introducing a religious influence into the area under charge.

In short, in its inception the idea of a College or School Mission differed but little from the idea of the Settlement. The wise step was, however, taken of leaving great freedom in the hands of the chosen missionary. As matters have gone, their history is exceedingly instructive. Placed at points of exceptional difficulty, such Missions were peculiarly open to the influence of the conditions ruling in the poorer localities ; and manned as they were almost invariably by men of the age of the curates whose work Mr. Booth laments that he has been unable to study with sufficient accuracy, it is

instructive to notice the unanimous way in which these Missions have taken up a practically uniform method in dealing with the districts committed to their charge; and all the more so because that method is the very one which, written large across the seven volumes of Mr. Booth, spells success slow but sure. It would in this connexion be well to read the extract given in vol. vii., p. 89, from the Report of Mr. Andrewes, the late missionary of Pembroke College, Cambridge. In itself it is a brief summary of the lessons the Church should learn from the whole book, and it is not robbed of its value by the totally irrelevant footnote appended to it.

Some other important points still remain for consideration, and of these the one having the most bearing on religious influences is the relation of the religious bodies to each other, and especially the relation of the Church to other bodies. In estimating this, two mistakes are made. The teaching usually associated with the name of High Church does not make for the strength of Nonconformity. It is quite simple to locate the strength of Nonconformity, and this is quite independent of the character of the Church in its immediate vicinity. Activity and strength are two different things. It is scarcely to be wondered at that, narrowed down to the view of London, the relation of the churches brings up as the most pressing question that of home reunion.

When reunion comes, it will be a very much broader and more statesmanlike measure than that which fills Mr. Booth's vision. He reminds us that the Church of England is the Mother Church of the English-speaking races. We must remind him that the English-speaking races are not exclusively Protestant, and that the question of reunion is not a question of London alone, or even of England alone, but of the Colonial and American Churches as well. The conclusion at which the author arrives is vitiated by too great concentration of view on the particular question as it affects London. It is worth while to quote his words :

'But the main trouble lies between the Established Church and those who cannot submit to her authority and pretensions. To her the complaints mainly apply, and hers is the opportunity to rise

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above sectional ideas, and assume the leadership. I do not hesitate to affirm that in London it lies neglected at her feet. To attain it, doctrinal authority, which she is powerless to wield, and mediæval pretensions, which may well be left to Rome, must indeed be abandoned. . . . To give to others their place would be to fill her own, and this not in London only, but as the Mother Church of all the English-speaking nations.'

To such a statement there is but one answer. The Church does earnestly pray for a reunion in which she can work in concord with other bodies of Christians. But the success of a confederacy on the lines here suggested is flatly contradicted by the whole of the rest of Mr. Booth's own book. The advice here given counsels a course which Mr. Booth's own book conclusively proves must be suicidal. In addition, in view of the agitation on the Education Act, it is extremely doubtful whether at the present moment a stable foundation of mutual respect and love exists, such as alone can make the opportunity which is alleged to be so clearly patent; and moreover, judging by Mr. Booth's criticisms on the Free Church Federation, the value of such a confederacy as he suggests is problematical.

On the other hand, the Church will gladly welcome, will carefully and sympathetically weigh, any suggestion making for a better understanding and a more united action among the followers of Jesus Christ, whosoever and whatsoever they may be. In action the Church will go at least half-way to meet the sober objections of those who differ from her; but the Church will not abandon the strength of her position, and in spite of this temporary lapse into *ματαιολογίαν*, the *Life and Labour of the People in London* conclusively proves this to be the right attitude.

It now becomes necessary to take up one or two questions of great importance in their bearing on religion, though they are not in themselves of a strictly religious character.

The housing of the working classes affects religion in no ordinary way, and it is well to direct attention to the very important picture given in Mr. Booth's book, and to the report of the committee of the Rochester Diocesan Conference on this matter.

The L. C. C. and some of the boroughs have already done some good work, but their efforts as yet have only touched a bare fringe of the question, and the success of their attempts to deal with the class most subject to the evils of overcrowding is as yet remarkably small, chiefly because the powers they wield are inadequate to so great a task. There is pressing need of action in Parliament; for probably no permanent and lasting good can be done without statesmanlike and drastic measures dealing with the whole questions of housing and transit.

Secondly, the distribution of charitable relief, as often practised by really religious people, forms, and forms rightly, a subject for some of Mr. Booth's most scathing criticisms.

No word can be too strong to endorse his denunciations. In many cases the organizations which base their claim to be doing Christ-like work on the amount of charitable help they give to the poor, are doing their best to debauch the working classes, and are sapping that sense of independence which is the best basis on which to found the appeal of religion. In addition their action repels the better stamp of working men, who, although poor, yet would indignantly refuse to accept charitable relief, and openly express profound contempt both for the recipients of such relief and those who distribute it.

Moreover, the wholesale distribution of relief perpetuates and increases the very evils it is designed to mitigate, and when this distribution of charity descends to bribery, in order to swell the numbers of a congregation at the expense of some rival agency, anyone who in the least grasps the true lines along which the poorer of our brethren can rise to better things can scarcely restrain his feelings sufficiently to speak calmly and courteously.

In the Church the question is without a doubt receiving an increased amount of attention, and the distribution of relief funds is more and more being conducted on sober lines and without distinction of creed; but even yet many good Christian people, especially those whose hearts are tender and sympathetic to any tale of distress, lavish their gifts on

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agencies which, with splendid energy, are deepening and intensifying the very evils they seek to ameliorate.

There is no doubt as to what should be done. London wants living agents, not showers of gold. If the main stream of charity could be diverted into the coffers of societies such as the Rochester Diocesan Society, the Bishop of London's Fund, the East London Church Fund, and the Bishop of St. Albans' Fund, the cause of Christ would be aided and not hampered.

The funds of these societies are miserably insufficient to accomplish the work that lies before them. Their income could be doubled, if not trebled, in each instance without taking much more money from the pockets of the charitable, if those excellent people would only see that to render real help to the poor of London you must help them to help themselves.

In writing thus it would be wrong to leave an idea in anyone's mind that all charitable relief is valueless. All that is insisted on is that charitable relief, to be relief in any true sense, must be organized on a sober method, and that method not so stringent as that of the Charity Organization Society, whose good and useful work is marked by an excess of caution, while their method of investigation is distinguished by a microscopic care which is intensely distressing to some of the poor whose feelings are tender, and fails sometimes to give full weight to the redemption that has come for a sin in the past.

Thirdly. On the encouragement of thrift Mr. Booth's words are words of wisdom. As he rightly points out, the attitude of religion to the people in London should not be in the spirit of the question, How can we help you? but (and here we venture an emendation on the original) 'How can we help you to help yourselves and others?' In the encouragement of thrift, as opposed to the distribution of charity, a widening field opens to religious agencies. In many cases much is being done by slate clubs, penny banks, and provident societies, but the working of these demands great care. The principle of the slate club is financially unsound, and only finds its justification as compared with

the permanent societies in its peculiar suitability to the circumstances of those who have small earnings and no security of tenure in their work. The member of a slate club, if work fails at a time when a benefit club is most likely to be of value, stands to lose less than if he were in a permanent society; and even if he has to pay a few pence more a week he receives something back each year in the form of a yearly share-out. Provident clubs are of growing importance, and the bonus added to the sums paid in cannot be regarded as a charitable gift. Some care must, however, be taken lest the bonus be out of proportion to the sums invested. Perhaps the wiser plan is to make the provident club self-supporting, and in London this can be done. Work on this line on a larger scale in connexion with the principle of co-operation may well receive the sympathetic support of those who are anxious to serve the poor. Of such work, among others, St. Augustine's, Fulham, is a useful example.

And fourthly, the sections on municipal work are well worthy of careful study. 'The success at the polls, whether for Board of Guardians, Borough Councils, or the School Board, of men and women who, in the name of religion, are giving their lives to the service of the people, is one of the noteworthy facts in Democratic rule,' is a passage of some import in estimating the relation of the people in London to religious influences.

In all these matters of charitable relief, housing, thrift, and participation in municipal life, the principle must be rigidly adhered to of helping the people to help themselves. No true advance can come as impressed from without. All true improvement must come from within. Religious influences, in so far as they touch the inner springs of life and character and mould men into the true likeness of God, do justify, even in London, the claim of the Son of Man to raise men from darkness to light, and to be in truth the Son of God. Though it is true, sadly true, that in London the minority only respond to the appeal, yet that minority has a deepening appreciation of the Christian life as a life of service, and we may well be assured that as the intensity increases the diffusion will be greater among the mass of the people.

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It cannot be said with truth that no effect has been produced on the bulk of the population. The effect being made must be intensified by concentration, not by broad generalizations and vague negations. Unselfish service in the improvement of the environment is necessary, the touch of soul with soul in the atmosphere of true sympathy is necessary; but these will not accomplish the work apart from the third essential, the strong untiring effort of a Religious Society based on a loving yet clear, definite, positive creed. Religious influence is at its best, and does its best work, when it presents itself in the form of a band of individuals composing a spiritually Socialistic State under the despotic monarchy of the Lord Jesus Christ.

ART. II.—GAIRDNER'S ENGLISH CHURCH HISTORY.

The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary. By JAMES GAIRDNER. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

IT was a happy thought of the late Dean of Winchester to apply the principle of a division of labour to the vast subject of English Church History, and to bring together 'several competent scholars, each being responsible for a period to which he has devoted special attention' (Introduction); and it is generally admitted that his scheme has, so far, been successfully carried out. No one can deny that all the seven 'scholars' selected are eminently 'competent'; but it is no disparagement to the writers of the three admirable volumes which have gone before, or of the three who are to follow, to say that this middle volume must necessarily be unique, and that for more reasons than one. In the first place, the writer is the only one of the seven who is a layman, a fact which at once differentiates his work from those of his fellows; he presents Church History from the lay point of view, which naturally differs a little from the clerical. Secondly, his

period is perhaps the most critical of all periods in the eventful history of the English Church; at any rate, it is the period round which more controversies rage than any other. Thirdly, the writer fulfils more obviously (we do not say more really) the condition of 'basing his work upon a careful study of original authorities' (Introduction), for he has been the editor of more than one such authority for the Rolls Series.

In reviewing Dr. Gairdner's volume our first duty, as an avowedly Church organ, is to express our gratitude to him for his noble defence of the ancient Church of the land against many cruel misrepresentations. He does not write as a partisan, nor in the interest of 'Church Defence,' in the now technical sense of that expression, but simply in the interest of historical truth. This, however, is all that the English Church requires: give her a fair field and no favour; she asks no more to justify her position. Dr. Gairdner, as a real expert would naturally do, takes the continuity of the Church from the closing years of the sixth century onwards for granted; and we would heartily commend his volume to those who still talk (often, we believe, from pure ignorance rather than malice) of 'Henry VIII.'s Church,' the 'Parliamentary Church,' and 'the Church founded by the Reformers.' Sixty years ago, even good and presumably well-informed Churchmen used such ridiculous language. Lord Macaulay, indeed, was only speaking after his kind when he dated 'the origin of the Church of England' (they are his own words¹) from the time of Henry VIII. But one would hardly have expected an Oxford dignitary, a close friend of John Keble, and afterwards a bishop, to take the same line! Yet Bishop Vowler Short wrote in 1832, and repeated in later editions, this amazing sentence, in what was for many years a standard work: 'The existence of the Church of England as a distinct body . . . may be dated from the period of the divorce.'² What could simple lay folks do but believe so high an ecclesiastical authority? Dr. Gairdner does not combat such

¹ *History of England*, chap. i.

² *Sketch of the History of the Church of England*, chap. v., opening sentence.

notions ; he simply takes it for granted that they are wrong. The very title of his book, *The English Church in the Sixteenth Century, from the Accession of Henry VIII. to the Death of Mary*, implies that he only regards it as a part in the middle of a consecutive story ; and in his first chapter, which deals with the period preceding the rupture, he speaks of 'the relations of the Church of England to Rome' (p. 11), implying that the Church of England before the Reformation was not, as it is still often absurdly represented, merely a part of the Church of Rome. His researches into 'original authorities' before the Reformation in which 'Ecclesia Anglicana' is the sole term used, would naturally lead him to think that it would be a mere waste of ink to contend for such a truism. Unfortunately, however, it is not, we fear, unnecessary to call attention to so obvious a fact ; and therefore, with apologies to Dr. Gairdner for kicking the dead lion in a review of such a book as his, we venture to do so. Not only in his title, but all through his volume, the very terms 'Reformation' and 'Reformation period' are conspicuous by their absence ; and again, naturally so ; for he, of all men, knows full well that a long train of events led up to what was done under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., and that what *was* done then was *undone* under Mary, and required doing over again.

But it is time to enter into details ; and we must begin with the preface. Our experience has been that a preface is the first thing to which the reviewer, and the last to which the general reader turns. But this preface is not like ordinary prefaces ; it gives the true key-note to the whole book ; and if the general reader wishes to enter into the author's spirit, he must begin by not only reading, but marking, learning, and inwardly digesting it. Dr. Gairdner tells him frankly what he must expect :

'The copious stores of documents now available have rendered many long-cherished views untenable ; but the results of investigation are as yet imperfectly known, and it is to be feared that the truth on very important subjects will have much prejudice to encounter before it can win general acceptance.'

There is doubtless much need of this warning at the

outset, for the views of such writers as Foxe and Hall, Burnet and D'Aubigné (to say nothing of Macaulay and Vowler Short!) are still the popular views of the eventful crisis through which the English Church passed in the sixteenth century; and it will be a shock to many to find them discredited. Those, however, who are acquainted with the writings of Dr. S. R. Maitland and Canon Dixon (which, it is to be feared, are not nearly so well known as they ought to be), or, indeed, of any of our later and better-informed Church historians, will be prepared for the shock, and will thank Dr. Gairdner for giving them history, not romance.

It is useless to disguise the fact that the story of those fifty years (1509-1559) through which Dr. Gairdner leads us, is in many respects a sordid story, disclosing base and worldly motives, unblushing selfishness and rapacity, unworthy trimming, gross cruelty, and outrageous Erastianism on the part of many of the chief actors. Indeed, it is worse than useless; for, besides the demoralizing effect of palliating wickedness, we verily believe that there has been no more potent factor in the influences which have led people to Rome than the attempts to veil the faults of those who brought about our break with Rome. Of course, it may be urged that God brings good out of evil, and makes use of bad men to effect His purposes. But then this line of argument might equally be taken to palliate the iniquities of a Judas Iscariot, a Herod, or a Pontius Pilate. As in their cases, so in that of many of the actors in the Reformation drama, good was the ultimate result; and this Dr. Gairdner fully owns; for, again to quote his preface, even 'under the Edwardine anarchy,' they 'laid the foundations in a new ritual of a more real Catholicism than that of Rome.' But though God in His infinite wisdom and love brings good out of evil, that is no reason why we should call evil good, and good evil. A great writer of the eighteenth century, William Law, puts the matter, according to his wont, very plainly and tersely in his 'Letters to a Lady inclined to enter into the Communion of the Church of Rome': 'I agree with you about the method of the Reformation; the bare history of it is satire enough. But the history of Popes, written by persons of their own communion,

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is as large and undesirable a history of scandal. . . . The sins both of reformers and papists are personal.' Dr. Gairdner takes virtually the same line. He has no very high opinion of what Foxe absurdly calls 'the Pope's Church.' In a very early part of his work he declares that 'the Holy See was but a piece of mechanism which could be got to move in the interests of powerful princes, investing with a religious sanction, or covering with a religious pretext, schemes and negotiations of which the more special aims were not to be disclosed prematurely' (p. 73). But he has no higher opinion of what the martyrologist, with equal absurdity, calls 'the true Church,' which means, being interpreted, the heterogeneous mass who agreed with Foxe and with one another in hating Rome, but in little else. He has, however, a due appreciation of the ancient Church of England, which in the period before us was slowly and painfully working its way towards its proper status. He thinks, and quite rightly, that from beginning to end Henry VIII.'s attitude towards that Church was hostile; and that his subservient Parliament, called 'the Reformation Parliament,' was merely his creature, to give a sort of constitutional colour to his hostility. He takes a higher view of Henry's intellectual abilities and attainments, and a lower view of his motives and moral qualities, than is commonly done; and we think he is right in both respects. The whole relationship of Henry and his tools towards the Church was one for which Erastianism is too mild a term. They aimed, not only at making it a mere department of the State, but at tyrannising over and debasing it in every way. Henry persistently encouraged heresy underhand at the very time when he was persecuting it openly, in order to embarrass and weaken that Church of which he got himself entitled Supreme Head upon earth (see pp. 125-6, 135, 207). The clergy were treated with great unfairness. When the whole body was placed under the penalties of the Act of *Praemunire* after Wolsey's fall, there was a grim sort of humour in the way in which Henry managed to kill two birds with one stone. He contrived at once to humiliate the clergy and to extort from them an enormous fine which supplied the money he sorely needed;

while, by way of contrast, the laity, who were equally subject to the penalty, were let off scot-free. He put the clergy in a most awkward predicament in regard to his unsavoury divorce case, which, by the way, is admirably described by Dr. Gairdner; if there be still a human being who thinks that 'the gospel shone from Bullen's eyes,' let him read and ponder Chapter VI. of this book, and his *own* eyes will surely be opened. Dr. Gairdner does not mince matters in regard to this discreditable incident; there is a frankness about his utterances which is at once startling and refreshing: 'So wild a project as that of making a woman like Anne Boleyn take Katharine's place as Queen' (p. 83); 'what we suppose we must call her [Anne's] wedded life' (p. 142); 'what Henry hypocritically called the gospel and true word of God' (p. 148) (when in reality he tuned the pulpits to defend the divorce); 'their union was regarded by the public as mere concubinage' (p. 169); 'perhaps the world was heartily glad to get rid of Anne Boleyn on any terms' (p. 172). This is very severe, but not too severe for the facts of the case.

Dr. Gairdner may be supposed to regard matters from the unprejudiced layman's point of view, without any professional bias, and therefore his defence of the clergy is particularly valuable. It was not a time certainly when it could be said, 'Clerus Anglicanus stupor mundi'; but the clergy, much as has been said, and, we fear, truly said, of their degeneracy, were still, as we gather from Dr. Gairdner, the salt of a corrupt age. He does full justice to some who have been too much slighted, and to others who have been cruelly misrepresented. The good old Archbishop Warham is by some writers—for example, by Bishop Short, by Macaulay, and by Hallam—all but ignored, though he was Primate of all England and Lord Chancellor during the whole of the early part of what is called the Reformation; but Dr. Gairdner does him justice. 'He seemed to live in two worlds at once, and was certainly one of those who could not help feeling at times that the conditions of the two were not altogether harmonious. . . . Duty to the King as head of the State was as clear as duty to the Church' (pp. 4-5); 'a most conscientious man, he always sought to do his duty in whatever

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post he might be appointed to fill' (p. 66). Dr. Gairdner is one of the very few historians on the side of the English Church who have a kind word to say about Bishop Bonner (see pp. 220, 271-2, 361). It required some moral courage in one who has no sympathy with Rome to write as he does about the best-abused man of all the anti-reformers; but we believe what he writes is literally true. On the other side, even poor Cranmer, who laid himself open to the abuse of writers of both parties and of no particular party at all, from Lord Macaulay upwards and downwards, is reasonably and considerately treated by Dr. Gairdner (see pp. 364 *sq.* and 376). Of the clergy generally in Henry's reign he holds that they were 'the only power in the land which could be trusted to denounce wrong in high places' (p. 103), and that this, and not their corruption, was the real reason why they were treated so tyrannically by the King and his subservient Parliament. But, in point of fact, they had very little power. In the able and learned historical 'Report on the Position of the Laity' drawn up by a Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury, it is remarked in reference to the eventful years 1529-1536, 'If it be asked, What power the laity then had? the answer must be "Nearly all the power!"' This is perfectly true; but we must confess we should like to have seen added at least a word of protest against the way in which the King and his tools rode rough-shod over the whole body of the clergy; such a protest would have been strictly *ad rem*, seeing that the relative position of the clergy and laity was the sole subject of the Report. But, oddly enough, a body of representative clergy in the twentieth century deal far more tenderly with the bad treatment of their order in the sixteenth than the layman does in the volume before us. Henry's exploits in regard to the Church are thus tersely summed up by Dr. Gairdner:

Professing to the last a zeal for religion, which in early days was not altogether insincere, he had destroyed the old autonomy of the Church, suppressed the monasteries, confiscated an enormous mass of property, and hanged, beheaded, or intimidated all who looked for the restoration of the system he had broken down. In his proceedings he had, to a large extent, gratified zealots who were enemies to

all Church law and discipline, and of course he had won over to his side the grantees of monastic lands' (p. 240).

It would, to our mind, have been well, if Convocation in their Report had made some such outspoken utterance as this about a chief layman's handiwork, to make it clear that *this* is not the sort of 'position of the laity' which they desire to see restored.

Dr. Gairdner shows himself a genuine historian as much by his silence as by his words. While he gives us a life-like picture of two of the three sovereigns who come within his period, he makes no attempt to do so in the case of the poor little boy-king who came between them; and surely this is a wise course to take. Edward VI. may have been, as some represent him, a model of youthful piety, or, as others, a miniature of his father; but, from a public point of view, he was a mere shadow, a puppet in the hands of others, who were for the most part more or less unscrupulous and unprincipled men. The result was that the Church, instead of having one, had many self-appointed masters, while, as Dr. Gairdner rightly remarks, 'episcopal authority'—that is, proper and not self-appointed authority—'was well-nigh destroyed' (p. 284). And here it may be observed in passing that it is not Dr. Gairdner's fault if his volume (and therefore our review of it) is full of the doings of secular princes, which are more suited to a civil than an ecclesiastical history. He is bound to record fact; and the fact is that the secular power was then dominant in the Church as well as in the State. The only difference in Edward's day is that the poor Church groaned under the yoke of a council instead of a king; and the not very edifying doings of a Somerset, and the still less edifying doings of a Northumberland, have to be recorded. Church matters were not improved by the importation of foreign influence in the shape of Lutheran and Calvinistic divines from Germany and Switzerland. But, in spite of all, the Church certainly made progress, as Dr. Gairdner points out, in a fine passage which forms part of the peroration of his volume:

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standard of belief was being quietly elaborated by Cranmer and other divines, which, after the Marian reaction was over, was adopted with very slight modification in the familiar Thirty-nine Articles. In these, and in the English Prayer Book itself, the final results of the Reformation were embodied, so far as doctrine and devotion were concerned, and it would be difficult to overestimate their value. No formularies were ever drawn that give so much liberty to the human mind. Truth had been well tested by martyrdoms on either side before they were finally adopted ; and while they repudiated the exclusiveness of Rome, they raised no barrier to the freest thinking consistent with belief in revelation. They constitute a more real Catholicism than that of the Council of Trent' (p. 396).

It will perhaps be a shock to Protestant feeling to find that for no one personage, lay or clerical, who appears in his pages, does Dr. Gairdner invite more sympathy than for the unhappy Queen Mary ; but surely he is right. With a cruelly persecuted mother, and a father who was worse than no father to her—forced to own herself illegitimate, debarred from free exercise of a religion which she had been taught to consider the only true religion, cut off from her friends and surrounded by her foes, how could she help growing up a moody, soured, and narrow-minded woman ? Dr. Gairdner contends that she was not by nature cruel, and that at the beginning of her reign she intended to be mild and tolerant. Of course he admits, regrets, and condemns the bitter persecution, which is, we fear, rightly termed ' the Marian persecution,' for it not only took place in her reign, but under her sanction and encouragement ; and there has happily been nothing like it, considering the short time it lasted, in all English history ; but he pleads for allowance to be made for Mary's unfortunate training, position, and surroundings. Again it will be best to quote his own words :

'The poor Queen had all along been actuated by the best possible of motives ; and it must be remembered, even as regards the sad persecution which has left so deep a stain upon her memory, that heresy and treason had walked continually hand in hand. She had reigned nearly a year and a half before reviving the heresy laws ; and perhaps if she had not married Philip she might have felt no need to revive them. But her marriage was only the principal matter in

which her zeal outran her discretion, for she was painfully deficient in that worldly wisdom which enables men to realize the strength and weakness of their own position, and she did not see how official corruption and demoralization all round her were undermining the ground on which she stood. She would fain have reversed a great social and ecclesiastical revolution, which, aided though it was by strong and sincere convictions on the part of many, had undoubtedly been brought about in the first instance by immoral and degrading agencies; but she failed to see how many influences, good and evil, concurred to prevent the counter-revolution which she was now attempting' (pp. 379-80).

'History has been cruel to her memory. The horrid epithet "bloody," bestowed so unscrupulously, alike on her and on Bonner and Gardiner and the bishops generally, had, at least, a plausible justification in her case from the severities to which she gave her sanction, though it was really not just even to her. The spectacle of those cruel proceedings in public, and the enduring recollection of them afterwards, blotted out from the public mind what even at first was but imperfectly known—the painful trials which she herself had so long endured at the hands of lawless persecutors; yet it was just such lawless persecutors who had deranged the whole system of Church government, and as Queen she endeavoured to suppress them by means which, if severe, were strictly legal' (p. 389).

Dr. Gairdner's whole book is so obviously the work of an expert that it seems almost presumptuous to criticize it at all; but we are sure that the writer himself would be the first to own that a review which is a mere eulogy is worthless; and as there are certainly matters in which we do not quite agree with him, we will venture to point them out. And first, let us call attention to a few not very important slips. On p. 89 we are told that 'Dr. Barnes, Prior of the Augustinian Friars at Cambridge, preached a sermon at St. Edmund's Church there.' But there *is* no such church at Cambridge; the sermon was surely preached at the Church of St. Edward the King. On p. 92 we learn that 'a monk of Bury[†] had dared to preach at St. Peter's, Oxford.' But there are two St. Peter's at Oxford; ought we not to have been told whether it was St. Peter le Bailey's or St. Peter's in the East? Again, is it quite correct to speak of Dr. London as '*Prebendary* of Windsor' (p. 228)? Was he not *Canon*? On p. 255 and on p. 381 Dr. Gairdner remarks,

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with apparent surprise, on the term 'book' being applied to what we should now call a letter or a pamphlet; but was not that quite usual both in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries? On p. 371 we read of the 'Dean of Christchurch.' What will 'the House' say to the 'Aedes Christi' being written as one word?

These, however, are slight and mostly verbal slips which do not in the least affect the value of the book. There is another matter of more importance to which, with great diffidence, we venture to call Dr. Gairdner's attention. Is there not a little tendency in his book, arising from a natural reaction from popular exaggerations, to do but scant justice to the services which the reformers rendered? For instance, we quite agree with Dr. Gairdner in his reprobation of William Tyndale in publishing what he called simply a translation of the New Testament, and pinning on to it, as it were, glosses of his own, intended 'to depreciate the authority of an ordained priesthood and of an organized church' (p. 191). It was not quite fair to represent, as until lately was generally done, the objections to Tyndale's work as if they were objections to the people having the Bible in their mother-tongue; it was his preface and his notes which caused reasonable offence. We object, moreover, as strongly as Dr. Gairdner does, to his 'replacing such familiar terms as "priests" and "church" by "seniors" or "elders" and "congregations"' (p. 191), though we cannot quite say the same about 'charity' being replaced by 'love.' But the translation itself as a whole? Surely it deserved a word of praise, which Dr. Gairdner does not give it. 'By far the greater part of Tyndale's translation,' writes that excellent biblical scholar, the late Bishop Westcott, 'remains intact in our present Bibles' [that is, the Authorized Version of 1611], and 'his spirit animates the whole.' The same may be said of the various documents which were put forth in the later years of Henry's reign. 'The Institution of a Christian Man' or 'Bishops' Book,' 'The Necessary Doctrine or Erudition of a Christian Man' or 'King's Book,' and the various Primers, were, we believe, seasonable and valuable attempts to instruct a grossly ignorant population; but all commenda-

tion of them is conspicuous by its absence in this volume. Still more do we desiderate some recognition of the work of the Windsor divines in compiling the First Prayer Book of Edward VI. Considering the time in which they performed their labour of love, and the many counter-influences to which they were subject, their success was in our opinion marvellous. It is true that the praise of these various efforts may be inferred from the peroration of this volume, a passage from which has been already quoted; but it does not appear in the detailed accounts of any of them which Dr. Gairdner gives us.

All these things, however, are but as spots in the sun, and we conclude, as we began, by heartily thanking Dr. Gairdner for giving us a volume which is of far greater importance than its mere bulk would indicate. It is not merely a useful little summary of the leading events in a most critical period of English Church history; it is a really valuable and permanent contribution to theological literature, written in a racy style and a true Church spirit; and as such we cordially recommend it to our readers.

ART. III.—THE AGE OF THE FATHERS.

The Age of the Fathers. Being Chapters in the History of the Church during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries. By the late WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D., Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford, and Canon of Christ Church. In two volumes. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1902.)

THE great work of Dr. Bright's life, into which all the streams of his activity flowed, was to trace the fortunes and extend the influence of that kingdom which is in this world, but not of it. He regarded it as a Divine order carried on through all the ages from the calling of the Friend of God to the days of the Son of Man. His essay on the study of Church History in his *Waymarks*, to which we referred in

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1901, is a mature statement from the point of view from which he wrote history. It may be well to mark some of the steps by which that point of view was reached, as an introduction to the consideration of these volumes. Soon after his fifth birthday he began as a child to delight in the composition of epistles to imaginary people, opening them with greetings in the style of St. Paul. This was the early germ of the signal gift of good letter writing which marked the correspondence of Dr. Bright's manhood, as well as of the intense interest which he always showed in the Epistles of St. Cyprian and St. Basil, the Festal Letters of St. Athanasius, and the great Tome of St. Leo. We are inclined to think that he would very much have shrunk from the prospect of the publication of a volume of his own letters, but at any rate we have no doubt that a wise selection from the mass of his correspondence would be interesting and instructive in a high degree. Can we say what first turned the mind of William Bright towards the study of Church History? Possibly; for on March 12, 1839, he was elected to a scholarship at Rugby, and on the following day he received a small book from home in memory of that day of rejoicing. It was *The Christian Fathers of the First and Second Centuries*, by the Rev. E. Bickersteth, containing, in the author's words, 'their principal remains at large, with selections from their other writings.' It was carefully read and annotated, after the familiar manner of his later years, by the recipient, who was then fifteen years old. From that time onwards he was a ravenous reader and a copious annotator of books: of the Bible first of all, and then especially of standard works of divinity and history which were either given to him as birthday presents or, as soon happened, won as college prizes, or presented by like-minded friends. The annotations quickly flowed over from the margins and the fly-leaves of his books to note-books of every size and shape, the early forms of those *Silvæ* to which Dr. Lock alludes, and which show with what thoroughness and freshness of interest he was wont to digest his reading and make it available for future use. When he moved to Scotland in 1851 as Theological Tutor of Trinity College, Glenalmond, he entered upon eight years of

remarkably fruitful study. Not to dwell upon the great influence which he exercised upon the studies and the lives of those who came into contact with him at that time, there were some tangible results of his diligence which saw the light. Three of these in the course of time appeared—*Faith and Life*, a series of readings from ancient writers, much valued by Bishop Patteson, whose copy of the book came into Dr. Bright's possession; *Ancient Collects*, selected for devotional use from various rituals; and *Eighteen Sermons of St. Leo the Great*, more recently re-edited with an increased quantity of valuable notes. But in particular during the Glenalmond period a piece of work was begun and finished which has a direct bearing upon our present review. This was a neatly written history in nine note-books of *Ecclesiastical Affairs from the Close of the Acts of the Apostles to the End of the Council of Chalcedon in 451*. A fair copy of this work was made in 1858. The Edict of Milan is reached in the fourth note-book, and this and the remaining note-books contain the first draft of the *History of the Church* from the Edict of Milan to the Council of Chalcedon, which was published in 1860, soon after Dr. Bright returned to Oxford. Dr. Lock's preface describes the relation of that *History* to *The Age of the Fathers*. The present volumes cover the same ground as the *History*, but the writer has in the forty-three years' interval between the two publications worked at the subject with assiduity, lecturing upon it some hundreds of times, and going over the period afresh every two years, reading fresh books, adding, correcting, and enriching his materials. The *History*, it must be admitted, was singularly accurate, even remarkably so as an early publication. Beyond correcting the date of the Council of Sardica from 347 to 344, there were few points on which Dr. Bright found himself obliged to alter his early judgment. Upon its publication the merits of the new *History* were at once cordially welcomed in the *Christian Remembrancer*, the precursor of our own *Review*. But Dr. Bright knew that he could amplify and enrich and improve his narrative; he mastered, as the years went by, the whole of the original authorities of the period; he increased his familiarity by

going repeatedly over the ground, with Mansi's *Concilia*, with Tillemont's *Mémoires*, and with Gibbon; he embellished his note-books with all that was valuable in the modern works upon his period published in England or in America or in France, and to some extent in Germany, though, as Dr. Lock says, he did not read German easily; he developed, in the lecture-room as well as in the pulpit and in Convocation, a richness and a facility of expression which often rose to noble eloquence when he was deeply moved; and he set himself in the midst of his work to write the new book on the old subject some few years before his death.

Before we proceed to comment upon Dr. Bright's narrative, some remarks are required upon the authorities for his facts and the way in which he uses them. In a work of this kind we cannot but regret that no list is given of the authorities and the editions which Dr. Bright has used. If this omission is not so detrimental to the usefulness of the volumes as the absence of a map, which we also exceedingly regret, it is certainly a defect. Under the head of defects we may perhaps express a regret that the compression of the materials into two volumes has somewhat overcrowded the pages with type. And it is impossible to omit a reference to the pathetic list of errata in the early pages of the work, when the writer's eye and hand began to fail in the correction of proofs. We have made a very searching examination of the contents of this work, and we can say without fear of contradiction that in these pages Dr. Bright has made no statement on any matter of important historical fact which he has not tested by the prime authority for it. He shows himself to be well acquainted with secondary authorities, but he has in no case depended upon them. He has gone to the original sources of information. At the opening of his narrative we find him with Eusebius at his side. He could not, of course, insert in his narrative such an interesting and graphic account of the father of ecclesiastical history as he prefixed to his carefully revised edition of the text of Burton in 1872. But he is able, in mentioning the death of the historian in 340, to remind us how greatly he excelled in learning all other prelates of his time; and when we reflect that there are some thirty-seven

early Christian documents preserved to us by Eusebius alone we shall not refuse to acknowledge his right to a high place among the great benefactors of Christendom, among the great benefactors of mankind. When the scene develops after the death of Eusebius, it is Socrates who supplies important information until the year 439. To be exact, 133 years are covered by the narrative of Socrates, for he began his history with the accession of Constantine in 306. During a part of this time we have the parallel history of Sozomen from 323, when Constantine defeated Licinius, to the death of the Emperor Honorius in 423, exactly one hundred years. And a third parallel narrative is found in Theodoret's history, which begins with the rise of Arianism and ends in 429 with Theodore of Mopsuestia. If three other writers, Philip of Side, Philostorgius, and Hesychius, are known to have written histories of this period, we can be sure from Socrates and Photius that we have not lost much because Philip's work has perished. Of the history of Hesychius only a mere fragment is known to exist, but from the Arian historian Philostorgius, adversely criticized both by Gibbon and Tillemont, Dr. Bright draws some useful contemporary testimony. He has studied the parallel narratives of Socrates and Sozomen with the closest attention, and although the student must go to the introduction prefixed to the reprint of the text of Hussey for Dr. Bright's full account of Socrates, he has not been able to take leave of him, in the narrative of the year 439, without paying a just tribute to his honesty and diligence. Side by side with the historians, at every point of the story of the Arian controversy, Dr. Bright has made the most thorough use of the writings of St. Athanasius, both for history and for doctrine. It is not necessary now to recall what Dr. Bright has done in lectures and articles and introductions to make that splendid and majestic person familiar to us, but it will be obvious to the reader of these pages that they have been written in the light of a complete knowledge of the contents of the Athanasian writings. As the history proceeds there is also evidence of as careful a study of the letters and treatises of St. Basil, the homilies of St. Chrysostom, and the enormous results of St. Augustine's

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literary labours. Nor is anything in such a writer as Am-
mianus passed over when it can add to our knowledge or
increase the vividness of the narrative. To Theodoret
Evagrius succeeds as a prime authority, and to this source of
information Dr. Bright adds his familiar acquaintance with
the correspondence and dogmatic treatises of St. Cyril and
St. Leo in his accounts of the Councils of Ephesus and
Chalcedon. It is hardly necessary to add that the author of
the *Notes on the Canons* has made ample use of the *Acta*
and the canons of the successive Councils of the period. As
to secondary authorities, if Dr. Bright were asked to whom he
acknowledged the chief obligation he would at once exclaim,
'To Tillemont.' A glance at the index, which helps a reader
to find easily whatever the two volumes contain, will show
how often, and on what varied topics, Dr. Bright has referred
to the austere and honest Gallican. He has the highest
respect for him, and we should like to think that this
recognition of their great merit had drawn renewed and
deserved attention to the sixteen quarto volumes of the
Mémoires. Tillemont's critical notes are, as has been said,
remarkably exact and judicious, the work is done with such
minuteness and care that nothing is passed over, and if we
are to be told, in the words of a modern religious encyclo-
pædia, that the labours of Louis Sébastien le Nain de
Tillemont 'do not satisfy the present generation of scholar-
ship,' we must take leave to doubt whether contemporary
scholars have yet done better. It would be impossible to
describe in detail the use which Dr. Bright has made of
secondary authorities or his illustrations from a wide range of
writers. Of course he refers frequently to Gibbon, and he is
as fond as ever of borrowing a phrase or even a word from
Newman. But these quotations no longer disturb the flow of
the story, there are no footnotes to distract the reader, and at
last the lifelong accumulation of learning pours itself out in
one continuous stream. The *History* is Dr. Bright's final
work, and it is worthy of him. We shall trace the course of
the narrative as far as possible in his own words.

The primitive period of Church History closed with the
last great heathen persecution. That supreme effort of the

pagan world power to trample out the life of the kingdom that is not of this world rightly bears the name of Diocletian, with whom rested the ultimate shaping of the Imperial policy, rather than that of the savage-minded ex-herdsman Galerius, or that of Maximin, who was the worst of all the persecutors, and whose character was a blend of odious qualities. But the victory of Constantine over Maxentius at the Red Rocks, commonly called the battle of the Milvian Bridge, brought the period of persecution to an end, and ensured the triumph of Christianity throughout the whole Roman world. Whatever truth there was in the rumour that Constantine was warned by a mysterious vision, or a marvellous appearance in the sky, to advance in confidence of victory under the ensign of the Cross, at all events something happened to lead him to recognize in the Christ of the Church an invincible Patron and Protector, and in the early part of the year 313 to put forth the famous edict of Milan in co-operation with Licinius, which ensured liberty of worship to Christians and to all others alike. Here Dr. Bright, who always had an eye for a dramatic scene, tells the story of the end of Maximin, the last persecutor :

'He took poison in despair, by one account, but it wrought slowly, and produced a long death-anguish ; and when his bodily eyesight was gone, he seemed to see God, as surrounded by ministers in white, and pronouncing his doom. Then, according to this awful narrative in the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, he shrieked out as men do under torture, and cried, "It was not I that did it, but the others," and afterwards expired in great misery, imploring compassion from Christ.'

Thus Western Christians had found a patron in Constantine, and Eastern Christians were delivered from the torment of Maximin, and the whole Church was free to invest her public worship with forms of visible majesty, to build up her sanctuaries, to treasure up her thrilling and inspiring reminiscences of the times of persecution, to sit 'amid the beauty of peace, and in tabernacles of confidence, and in rich repose.' This intense religious happiness was surely granted as a strength against trials to come.

The trouble of early Donatism emerged as it were out of

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the persecutions. The traditors who had under pressure surrendered copies of the Holy Scriptures may or may not have numbered Bishop Felix among them ; but the question of principle whether the guilt of a traditor vitiated his ministrations was the starting point of an open schism, which was perhaps ' the ugliest phenomenon in ancient Church history.' The indomitable contentiousness and obstinate resistance to evidence which Donatism showed wearied the great heart of St. Augustine, and in summing up the proceedings of the Council of Arles, and after noticing two or three of its more important canons, Dr. Bright observes that ' the upshot and moral of the history is that any excesses of pride, or cruelty, or bitterness, or baseness, are possible to those movements which begin by earnestness without humility, and separate indignation against evil from the natural virtue of justice and the Evangelical grace of love.'

The Councils of Ancyra and Neocæsarea deserve a passing reference because of the information which they give us about the Chorepiscopi and the growth of ascetic ideas ; and when to the notice of these assemblies we have added an allusion to the overthrow of Licinius by Constantine, we are ready to trace the beginnings and the development of Arianism.

The gathering of this great controversial storm was first observed at Alexandria, where Arius, once excommunicated for his opposition to the measures which Bishop Peter took against the Meletians, was the parish priest of the Baucalis district, and was said to be greatly mortified because Alexander was chosen instead of himself to fill the See of Alexandria. Arius ' was a man of mark even in his outward characteristics ; he was known by the sleeveless tunic and scanty half-cloak which he constantly wore, by his tall person, his melancholy thoughtful face, his grave manner, his sweet impressive voice, his social attractiveness and signal powers of conversation.' Thus gifted he energetically propagated the two original elements of Arian doctrine, that the Son was not eternal, and not uncreated. Such teaching had ground already prepared for it in pagan and rationalistic minds. A dread of Sabellianism, and an assumption as to the conditions of Divine Sonship, were its immediate groundworks, and it

was found necessary to excommunicate Arius and his companions at Alexandria. This is the first landmark in the history of the movement, and the second is the Council of Nicaea, summoned by Constantine in the June of 325. We must not enter into the details of the names of those who assembled at the Council ; ' but the most interesting person in the whole group that surrounded the Pope of Alexandria was a young man of puny stature, but with a face of singular beauty and animation : he was the Archdeacon Athanasius.' Arius was supported by Eusebius of Nicomedia, astute and able, but deserving our pity because he was exposed to corrupting influences which he was ill prepared to resist. It is most likely that Hosius presided, being chosen partly on account of his personal eminence, and partly as knowing the mind of the Roman Bishop, as well as of their common sovereign. The Council's work, as to Arianism, was to close the question once for all whether the Lord Jesus Christ is truly God or not. Nothing short of Homoousios was sufficient to exclude all possibility of Arian quibbling, and the Creed which contained this word was at once received by the great body of the Nicene Fathers.

The serene hopefulness which marks the short period of internal peace after Nicaea seems indeed pathetic when we remind ourselves of the long series of Arian calumnies against the great hero of the Nicene faith. But in that brief breathing space before the storms gathered again there were certain matters of interest which deserve at least a passing allusion. There was the elevation of St. Athanasius himself to the See of Alexandria, and the important conflicting accounts of the mode of appointing bishops at Alexandria ; there were the explorations of the aged St. Helena at Jerusalem and the story of the discovery of the true cross ; there was the building of the new city at Byzantium by Constantine, and the development of monasticism into its coenobitic form. But the interest of these varied incidents soon fails in the presence of the troubles of St. Athanasius, round whom Church history was now to gather for some years to come. During this long tragedy the 'royal hearted' hero exhibited nothing but what 'very well became a wise man to do and a righteous to suffer.'

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All manner of evil was spoken against him falsely. His enemies relentlessly pursued him with some new charge when an old one failed, and the Emperor at length cut the weary disputes short by banishing him to Treves, and so the city, as Dr. Bright says, with his remarkable power of sweeping swiftly across the field of Church History for a striking parallel, 'which was in this same century to be associated with the names of Ambrose and Martin, was now a haven of refuge for Athanasius.' Between this exile and the meeting of the Council of Sardica, which is the next notable point in the story, we pass by the difficult question of the theological position of Marcellus of Ancyra, the fearful end of Arius, the baptism and the death of Constantine, of whom Dr. Bright takes leave in one of the finest passages in his book, and the Dedication Council of Antioch. The Council of Sardica, a great Western synod, emphatically loyal to the Catholic faith, resulted in a widening of the breach between East and West. But in spite of this, and not forgetting that Photinus developed into heresy what he had learned from his teacher Marcellus, a brighter scene of Church history now dawned in ten years of 'deep and wondrous' peace for St. Athanasius. This is a landmark in the Arian history, and allows the historian to turn aside to the consideration of the noble story of Persian martyrdom, the further history of Donatism, the obstinate local schism of the African Church, and the noble work of Frumentius in Ethiopia. The second Arian persecution aimed first at the isolation and then at the banishment of Athanasius. It may be said to have obtained its greatest success in the memorable flight of Athanasius, which forms a cardinal epoch in his life. But even the successes of persecution were but the prelude to the disintegration of the Arian body, and a whole chapter is needed, as well as a masterly grasp of the intricacies of heresy, to describe the variations of Arianism. The history here is saddened by the unhappy lapses of Hosius and of Pope Liberius. The Councils of Ariminum and Seleucia occurred at a time when the Arian cause was triumphing, and the sorely tried Catholics only turned from the Arians to encounter the sneers of Julian, surnamed the Apostate. Dr. Bright parts from this most

unhappy man, in a very touching sentence, 'with the recollection that he had not really forsaken Christ, for he had never learned Him nor known Him.' During his short reign St. Athanasius presided in 362 at a memorable council in Alexandria, at which the meaning of the term Hypostasis was discussed, and there occurred a renewed outbreak of the troubles of Donatism in Western Africa. After the pagan reaction, and after the death of Liberius in circumstances which might make men forget the dark episode of his temporary failure, we can turn to the brighter history of the episcopate of St. Basil, a great episcopate remarkable for its concentrated and accumulated sorrows, and for the nobleness and fervour of spirit which confronted and endured them, an episcopate which was to immortalize a name only second to that of Athanasius. We would fain devote more space than we can allow to the short and troublous career of the most heavily afflicted of all the great Fathers, to the cares and burdens arising from the persecution by Valens, the distractions and troubles of the whole Church, and the local or personal difficulties which beset St. Basil nearer home. But we can only refer to Dr. Bright's chapter on these wild and dark days as a conspicuous illustration of his power to describe a noble life of steadfastness to the faith for which the Church was all the richer and stronger, and to bring home to his readers the force of the grace which disciplines and ennobles a strong character. While the East was illuminated by the life of St. Basil, the West was witnessing in St. Martin the most successful missionary, and the most beloved and honoured bishop, that had yet appeared in Western Europe. The See of Milan, too, had entered upon the greatest chapter of its history by the consecration of St. Ambrose, and the year and month of Basil's death was also marked by the elevation of Theodosius, afterwards not unduly styled the Great, to full imperial honours. He was in his thirty-third year when he began that illustrious reign which, although darkened by some grievous shadows, was destined on the whole to lift his name above all others in the Christian imperial line. At Constantinople we pass to the history of St. Gregory Nazianzen, his earlier friendship with St. Basil,

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his sermons and his celebrated resignation. And in 381 we come to the important points connected with the second Œcumenical Council, the history of the formation of the Creed accepted at Constantinople, the brief but momentous third canon, and the settlement of the Apollinarian heresy. At Rome St. Jerome was now sojourning and beginning to exercise an important influence upon affairs as the secretary of Pope Damasus. We can only allude in passing to the relations of St. Ambrose to Justina and to Theodosius, which afford the reader a glimpse of some of the most vivid and dramatic scenes in the Church history of the fourth century, and which are, perhaps, of central interest even in such a fruitful and majestic episcopate as that of St. Ambrose. With the last years of Theodosius, who died in 395, Dr. Bright closes his first volume, as he used to close the first year of his two years' course of lectures.

The second volume opens with a survey of the state of the Western Church at the close of the fourth century. The death of Theodosius marked the close of a period which, on the whole, had been fruitful in public peace, prosperity, and glory. In Theodosius a man passed away who was noble and princely, in spite of too frequent bursts of passion, or increasing indolence, or a taste for court luxury and extravagance. What was more, the Empire's unity, solidity, and true greatness virtually passed away also, when the imperial dignity was divided between his two feeble sons. The ecclesiastical history of the new period opens with St. Augustine at Hippo engaged in pastoral and literary work, and with the death of the two great saints of Milan and of Tours. As we take leave of St. Ambrose,

'it is not well to think of him simply as distinguished, among the great ecclesiastics of that time, by his lofty enthusiasm for Church independence or Church authority, or even by the combination, in his mind and aims, of an intense zeal for Christian righteousness with that fervent resolution to make the worldly power feel and respect the reality of the spiritual—a combination, it must be admitted, which did not always prevent him from making untenable claims, disparaging the Divine commission of the civil magistrate, or setting a precedent for later usurpations. We may call Ambrose, if

we like, a High Churchman ; but he was before all else a high Christian—a pastor of Christian souls, a preacher of Christian holiness, a loyal and devout worshipper of Christ. As with Athanasius and Chrysostom and Augustine, and we may well add with Anselm, it was not an ecclesiastical cause, nor a theological interest, that was really sovereign with him ; he was what he was, and did what he did, in the strength of a deeper, more penetrating, more personal devotion, gathered up in the fulness of his own phrase, “*Omnia Christus est nobis.*”

With St. Ambrose is worthily placed St. Martin, who had begun his course of faith and simple devotedness by giving half his cloak to the beggar at Amiens, and whose name has been repeated through the ages in Western Christendom with reverence and love. If these great names shone in the West, the new century was no less illuminated in the East by the career of St. John Chrysostom, a career which perhaps beyond all others in Church History associates the rich endowments of mind and the spiritual beauty of a thoroughly religious life with the glory of a great preacher and the brighter crown of a sufferer for righteousness. His life falls into three parts—before his troubles, his earlier troubles, and his later troubles. The brighter days of his great episcopate allow us time to reflect upon his gifts as a preacher and his administrative powers as a bishop, but soon ‘*ad tristia ducimur.*’ A current of the Origenistic controversy flowed suddenly and strongly, and with momentous consequences, into the stream of Chrysostom’s episcopate when the Tall Brothers appealed from Alexandria to Constantinople. St. Chrysostom incurred the animosity of Theophilus, the able, resolute, unscrupulous occupant of the Evangelical throne. Origenism was soon dropped in the effort to press personal charges against Chrysostom ; and at the Council of the Oak, Theophilus achieved his purpose of deposing the object of his spite from the See if not from the hearts of Constantinople. Though once recalled, the virulence of the enemies of St. Chrysostom pursued him to the bitterest end, and he only got clear of the waves when his cruel guards dragged him into a little wayside chapel on the Comana road, and heard him say, ‘*Glory be to God for all things,*’ sealing this last doxology with an Amen as

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he tranquilly expired. It was appropriately Holy Cross Day, the death day of St. Cyprian. The story of St. Chrysostom's episcopate,

'while it exhibits with peculiar and terrible clearness the force which can be used in an unjust cause, by worldly-minded ecclesiastics, against a spiritual loftiness which has crossed their paths, rebuked their vices, or wounded their pride, is also one of the most noble and inspiring of all testimonies to the moral power of a thoroughly unworldly life, and the imperishable fruitfulness of a really saintly example.'

If we associate the thoughts of the Epistle to the Hebrews with the impending destruction of Jerusalem, no less do we remind ourselves of St. Augustine's great work on the City of God when we read of the taking of Rome by the Goths on August 24, 410. The fall of Rome from her immemorial pre-eminence, her exposure to barbaric insolence and violence, the irretrievable damage to much of her outward majesty, and to still more of her power to impress and fascinate, could not but excite awe at the ineffable judgments of God, and direct men towards that City of God whose foundations bring all classes of human minds into subjection to itself, because it contained the principle of man's beatitude in the merciful activities of the grace of God-made-Man. From this great landmark of history, if we look out on the general prospect of Christendom, and pass by the interesting elevation of Synesius to the episcopate, whence, as Dr. Bright in lecture never failed to say, he saw his darling dogs unemployed and his hunting bows worm-eaten, we see Donatism in its decline as the chief matter that claims our attention. In bidding farewell to one of the unsightliest phenomena in Church history, we must not forget the lesson that enthusiasm, however earnest or even passionate, for a magnificent moral ideal is not of itself a guarantee of being in the right track. Dr. Bright drives this lesson well home for all whom it may concern.

By a providential sequence the Church was led to contemplate and study the fundamental doctrine of the Holy Trinity and the Redeemer's Godhead before Pelagianism plunged her into a discussion of mankind's relation to that

Redeemer's Person and work. The problem of the existence in man of a free will at once real and stringently limited must be great and urgent ; but as Pelagians discussed it, it was associated with a virtually Naturalistic idea of redemption. We must also remember that there is, in reaction from Calvinism, a modern Pelagianism which regards Christianity simply as a means of moral elevation, and the doctrine of grace as a bit of unverifiable mysticism, and takes an inadequate measure of the gravity of sin. And besides all this, St. Augustine's zeal in opposing the heresy by some one-sided over-statements of the truth has its own warning for modern readers. As the Pelagian doctrine worked itself out, and we trace the successive steps of its history from its rise to its decline, these points are abundantly illustrated. The controversy bristles with facts and documents, and is crowded with persons, but the issue is clear enough. St. Augustine, in spite of some Augustinian exaggerations, stood for the idea of grace with which we are familiar in the Collects as the very life of God freely given to man in Christ ; and Pelagianism, by giving inadequate senses to the term, lost sight of the truth that as man now is he needs grace both to will and to do God's will. We ought not to leave Pelagianism without referring to the extraordinary vigour and quantity of the Anti-Pelagian treatises of St. Augustine, of which Dr. Bright published a most useful edition, and also to the incident of the Alleluia victory in Britain, when St. German had prevailed over the British Pelagians, and bade the Britons raise the shout of Alleluia against the Saxons and the Picts. The connecting link between the two great controversies of Pelagianism and Nestorianism was Theodore of Mopsuestia, who united with wide learning and conspicuous ability a very deliberate hold on theories which explained away the mystery of the Incarnation. We may mention here also the name of Honoratus, the venerated founder of the community of Lerins, as at this time Bishop of Arles. In 428 Nestorius became Bishop of Constantinople, and opened his career there with a persecuting policy which earned for him the nickname of the Firebrand. His name soon became associated with a heresy which is one of the great phenomena in the

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world's religious history. Speculative minds had long been at work on the problem, 'What was the relation between the Godhead and the Man Christ Jesus?' The Fathers from St. Athanasius downwards held that the New Testament does not allow us to regard its central Figure as other than single in personality. They held that the selfsame Person Who as Son and Word had dwelt from all eternity in the bosom of the Father did in the Incarnation unite manhood to Himself. According to this grand belief, the one Christ brought God and man together by virtue of His pre-existing Divinity and the humanity which He put on for our sakes. Apollinarianism had caused deep anxiety about the reality of Christ's manhood and example, and Theodore, pathetically striving to emphasize this side of the truth, used language which in effect presented Christ as nothing more than an arch-saint. He probably died before the end of 428, and at this time the confidential secretary of Nestorius at Constantinople objected to the use of the term *Theotocos*, which had very considerable ecclesiastical authority in its favour as conveniently expressing the truth that the Son of Mary was personally Divine. Nestorius was not slow to accept responsibility for the statement that of a human being it was impossible that God should be born. He was publicly denounced by Eusebius, a layman, afterwards Bishop of Dorylæum; and when St. Proclus preached a great sermon and went to the heart of the matter, Nestorius at once replied and preached other sermons, which at length produced discussion in Egypt. Shortly after the Easter of 429, therefore, St. Cyril wrote a circular letter to all the monks of Egypt, and asked 'if our Lord Jesus Christ is God, how can the holy Virgin, who bore Him, be other than *Theotocos*?' This letter reached Constantinople, and thus Nestorius and Cyril were brought into correspondence. In course of time Councils were held at Rome and Alexandria, and Cyril's chief contributions to the correspondence are great dogmatic letters precious for all time. The Council of Alexandria led to a synodical letter, the famous third letter to Nestorius, with the twelve anathemas appended. We pause in the controversy to note the Vandal siege of Hippo in the August of 430, when St. Augustine lay a-dying. Even Dr.

Rottmanner of Munich, as one of the greatest Augustinian scholars now living, would recognize the adequacy of Dr. Bright's summary of the life of the imperial Doctor of Grace.

'Never, surely never, in spite of exaggerations and impetuosities in his habit of thought, had the Faith of Christ a truer or worthier votary. Never was there a man who more genuinely carried out his belief into his life; never a pastor or prelate who lived more habitually in the felt presence of the Supreme Shepherd; never a theologian who amid all his abstract speculations, or while plunging into metaphysical depths, kept before him more tenaciously, more enthusiastically, that great thought which is the salt of theological study, the thought of a Living God personally self-revealed; never, finally, a preacher or guide of souls who could help his brethren with a richer experience, a tenderer or more effective sympathy, a keener remembrance of all the way by which he had himself been led, a more affectionate solicitous earnestness to bring them whither he himself had been brought, so as to find rest for heart and soul in the service of Him Who, in His own penetrating words, had made them for Himself.'

With the next year, 431, we come to the treatment of Nestorianism at the Council of Ephesus. Offence had been caused by Cyril's twelve articles to John of Antioch, who enlisted Andrew of Samosata and Theodoret to answer them. The impatience of St. Cyril, in not waiting for the tardy arrival of these Orientals at Ephesus, introduced fresh complications into the matter in hand. Before the Orientals came, the bishops present, after vainly inviting Nestorius to attend, read various documents and letters, and then pronounced a formal sentence of deposition against Nestorius. John of Antioch upon arrival was indignant at what had been done, and held a meeting of his own, and Cyril was declared to be excommunicate. After further sessions and the passage of six canons, the 'Acts' of the Council came to an end. Both parties appealed to Theodosius, who showed profound ignorance of the real state of affairs, and finally dissolved the Council. Obviously the cause of the doctrine of the Hypostatic Union was exposed to great peril by such an ending. But the reunion of Cyril and the Orientals, after

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explanations on both sides, and the happy mission of Paul of Emesa to Alexandria, left the settlement of the doctrinal question in no doubt.

'The faults and mistakes committed on the orthodox side must not be forgotten or unfairly varnished over : orthodoxy gains nothing, and loses much, by indiscriminate and uncandid hero-worship. But, when we have admitted everything of this sort, we have not only to take note also of unfairness and bitterness on the side opposed to Cyril, but the fact remains plainly written on the face of the history—if Nestorianism had gone unrebuked, the Church would have compromised its fidelity to the doctrine of the Divine Incarnation, and of all that such an Incarnation involves for man.'

'It is certain, certain not only to panegyrists of a canonized saint, but to those who care for the truth of history, that the thought as well as the heart of Christendom has pronounced judgment in this cause between Cyril and Nestorius, and has accepted as the expression of Christian truth the doctrine upheld by the former against the latter. For that doctrine, when stated in its essence and apart from technicalities, is simply that Jesus Christ is personally Divine.'

The interval which elapsed between the end of the Nestorian controversy and the rise of Eutychianism presents some important matters for notice. Among them are the zeal for the Catholic doctrine of the Incarnation and for the complete Catholic rule of faith shown in Southern Gaul as evidenced by St. Vincent's *Commonitory*, the conclusion of the period of 133 years for which we have the historian Socrates as our companion in study, the beginning of the greatest episcopate which the Roman Church had as yet seen when Leo I. was chosen for the first bishopric in Christendom, the mission of St. Patrick to Ireland, and the death of St. Cyril in June 444.

The celebrated Dialogues of Theodoret and the phrase used by St. Cyril as practically equivalent to the assertion of the one Person of Christ—'One nature of the Word, although this nature had assumed flesh'—mark out the lines along which we pass from the third to the fourth and last great heresy concerning the Incarnation. The letter of Ibas to Maris, which was ambiguous enough to escape censure at Chalcedon, if it afforded some ground for the later condemnation

of it as the expression of a Nestorianizing mind, also belongs to the earlier history of the Eutychian movement. The heresy that in Christ the humanity was so absorbed in the Godhead that in Him there was but one nature, soon began to be associated with the name of Eutyches. He was not a theologian, but with fatal tenacity clung to phrases whose full import he did not understand. As he could not be moved from his position he was tried and condemned by a synod at Constantinople in 448. Correspondence on the subject took place between Flavian of Constantinople and Leo of Rome, and one letter of the series became famous through all Christian ages as the doctrinal 'Tome of St. Leo.' It became evident that a Council must assemble to settle the controversy. But before the matter was thus settled the miserable assembly of the Latrocinium was held, in which Flavian was deposed and cruelly ill treated, and the Council, under constraint from Dioscorus of Alexandria, subscribed to the falsehood of Eutychianism. At length, on October 8, 451, the Council of Chalcedon met, with which Dr. Bright brings his narrative to a close. All else that was done thereat pales before the great definition of faith that fixed the lines of Catholic thought and teaching on the Christological question which had so long occupied the mind of the Church. If Christ is believed in as one, yet as both truly God and truly Man, however little we can comprehend the relation thus created, that belief is all that the Chalcedonian terminology implies: to hold it is to be at one with the Fourth Council.

A reader who glances through this outline of Dr. Bright's narrative which we have just given will naturally ask some important questions: What position was claimed and taken by, and assigned to the Bishop of Rome in the course of these events in the fourth and fifth centuries? Does the evidence support the Anglican or the modern Vatican contention? Did the Bishop of Rome, as the first bishop of Christendom, hold a primacy of honour, or was he admitted to be exercising a universal jurisdiction, plenary, supreme, ordinary, and immediate? Was he held to speak infallibly when he defined, *ex cathedra*, a doctrine on faith or conduct as to be held by the

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Church universal, inasmuch that such definitions are irreformable in virtue of their intrinsic authority, and not in virtue of the assent of the Church? Dr. Bright's volumes contain abundant materials which help us to arrive at the true answer to these questions. It is the opinion of the editors of Dr. Bright's volumes that 'his indignation against the unfairness of some recent Roman controversialists has perhaps led him to adopt an unduly suspicious and hostile attitude towards the occupants of the Roman see.' Certainly as time went on Dr. Bright found that these controversialists confirmed his antagonism to a system which employed, and as he believed required, such methods of support as they adopted. And after a re-examination of the evidence which he here presents to us, we ourselves have been confirmed in our agreement with him. We will enumerate some points which bear upon the matter, that our readers may judge for themselves.

In the early Donatist controversy about Felix of Aptunga there is no evidence that the idea of a supreme judicial authority in the Roman Bishop alone ever occurred to either party. History does not tell us when Christianity first came to Arles; but when its very discreditable bishop Patroclus told Pope Zosimus that the Trophimus of the apostolic age brought the Christian faith to Arles and derived his mission from St. Peter, the Pope heaped favours on Arles in consequence. The bishops at Arles in 314 recognized the Church of Rome as possessing the episcopate founded by Peter and Paul, and the spots where they suffered martyrdom. They acknowledged further that Pope Silvester 'held the greater dioceses,' by which Dr. Bright understands that they meant to say that the Pope's ecclesiastical relation to the Churches of the ten Italian provinces under the Vicarius Urbis might give him exceptional facilities for acting as an organ of communication with distant Churches. We come to the Council of Nicaea. While it is most likely that Hosius presided, it is certain that he did not, like the two priests from Rome, hold a formal commission to represent Silvester, although he may not improbably have been chosen to preside, partly on account of his personal eminence, and partly as knowing the mind

of the Roman bishop, as well as of their common sovereign. Silvester had not, so far as we know, any peculiar share in the preparation for the synod, neither did he hold by deputies the primary place in its proceedings. If ever there was a time for an infallible Pope to speak, it was in this first conflict with Arianism. But nobody asked Silvester thus to speak, and he never attempted to do so. In other words, neither he nor any one else believed in papal infallibility. The third Nicene canon illustrates the influence of political divisions upon ecclesiastical provinces, and the effect upon the prestige and influence of the Bishop of Rome of the fact that all roads led thither. The sixth canon urges that the Bishop of Alexandria shall have authority, as previously, over certain districts, since this is also customary for the Bishop who is at Rome. After a careful examination of the point, Dr. Bright concludes that this means that at this time the Bishop of Rome had jurisdiction over the area of the Vicarius Urbis, not over the northern provinces of Italy, and still less beyond the peninsula. In short, there is nothing here about a papacy. In the letter of Pope Julius to the Eusebians, in spite of some Roman laxity of statement in citing usage and tradition for a judicial authority in the Roman Church when a bishop of Alexandria was suspected, he describes the whole episcopate as the true judicial body, ranks himself among its members, and writes in the name of the Roman Council, the Council of Central and Southern Italy as well as of Rome, and not solely of the Roman Bishop. The Sardican canons, on which a vast fabric of appellate jurisdiction of the See of Rome was afterwards built up, grant a limited power to the Bishop of Rome which he could not have accepted without stultifying his position had he believed himself to be the Supreme Pontiff. At Sardica the bishop who specifically occupied St. Peter's seat was entrusted with certain power because there was a moral fitness in the arrangement, and this power both in its scope and origin was inconsistent with the theory of papal supremacy.

The place of president at the Second General Council was assigned to Meletius, who was outside the communion of the Western Church and the Roman See. The third canon

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of this Council ordered that the Bishop of Constantinople should hold the pre-eminence of honour after the Bishop of Rome, because Constantinople was New Rome. The pre-eminence of Rome here mentioned was derived mainly from the secular dignity of the Roman city, but also had some relation to its peculiar ecclesiastical and religious associations as connected with St. Peter and St. Paul, enhanced by the belief that St. Peter himself had been Bishop of Rome.

In connexion with the first Council of Toledo, which met in September 400, we meet with the phrase, 'the Pope that now is,' and this is the first time that we find the Bishop of Rome simply styled *the* Pope by way of eminence. The phrase is premonitory of coming development, and was probably due to the lofty assumptions of Siricius in his dealings with the Church of Spain. We have a most luminous expression of St. Chrysostom's view of the position of the Roman See in the copy of the circular letter which he sent to Pope Innocent I. among other prelates of Italian sees at a critical time in his later troubles. He did not regard the Roman see as *the* centre of ecclesiastical justice. Had he so regarded it, he must specially have applied to Innocent's tribunal as the supreme court of appeal, and to Pope Innocent himself as the appointed representative, for all Christendom, of the Divine universal Arbiter. It subsequently came to pass that three of the four chief sees of Christendom were separated from Rome and the West on the question whether Chrysostom's name should be honoured by recitation among those of departed bishops at the Holy Eucharist. Returning to Pope Innocent, it is also striking, in view of the modern Roman theory, to find the Pope, when dealing with the messengers of Theophilus—with Easterns, that is to say—utterly silent as to any exclusive prerogative belonging to the chair of St. Peter, and emphatic in enforcing the authority of a legitimate synod. Another series of documents in the early years of Innocent's episcopate illustrates the growing intimacy of the relations between the Roman See and the Gallic and Spanish Churches, as well as the growing extension of Roman canon law, and in 416 we have a synodal letter to Pope Innocent written in order that the authority

of the Apostolic See might reinforce an African Council. If Innocent's reply shows that he is to be numbered among those ancient Roman prelates who have aggrandized their see by claims inadequately supported by fact, and have thus prepared the ground for later usurpations tending to the modern papal autocracy, he yet deserves respect for his manful championship of persecuted holiness in the case of Chrysostom, and his energetic defence of the doctrines of grace and redemption when virtually impugned by Pelagius. In his successor, Zosimus, there was a pope who, though he was no Pelagian, allowed himself with culpable facility to be imposed upon by men far cleverer than himself, and with a most unlucky impetuosity committed himself to their acquittal. The African bishops virtually appealed from the living Pope to his dead predecessor, and the reply of Zosimus is unique in its combination of magniloquent claims with a practically complete surrender. The Pope's *Tractoria* pronounced an explicit condemnation of the very men whom he had as formally pronounced to be injuriously suspected, and to have fully proved their complete orthodoxy. The *Tractoria* was generally accepted by the bishops of Christendom; but when St. Augustine said *causa finita est*, it is worth while to remember that the Pope's letter about Pelagius had not reached him. This soon convinced him that the matter was not ended, and the phrase is again used by him four years later of bishops acting in common. We shall not attempt to abridge Dr. Bright's story of the memorable case of Apiarius, which is an instance, in which three popes are concerned, of the unscrupulousness of Roman bishops and their ecclesiastical advisers, the precursor of the Curia, when arguing on behalf of Roman intervention in the affairs of foreign Churches.

In approaching the Nestorian controversy we have first to notice Pope Celestine's letter to Nestorius. He does not write in the character of supreme Bishop of Christendom, as if he were the sole mouthpiece of the Church, or his tribunal its court of final appeal. He simply withdraws his communion as Bishop of Rome and Western Patriarch from a brother patriarch. This was quite intelligible and

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natural in the existing relations of the great sees to each other at this period ; it would be quite unintelligible and unnatural had those relations then been such as are required by the Papal claim on the present Roman theory. After some correspondence with Cyril, the Pope sent two bishops and a priest to represent him at Ephesus and to act in concert with Cyril. St. Cyril presided, partly as the highest prelate in point of rank and also as holding the proxy of Celestine. We must observe that Celestine's commission to Cyril to 'act as in our place' was given in the preceding August, before the General Council was thought of, and referred simply to the final admonition to be sent to Nestorius. The letter which the Council sent to Celestine at the close of the proceedings uses language natural enough in reference to the first see, and at the same time lays the main stress on the just sentence of deposition pronounced by the Council. In expressing his joy at the appointment of Maximian to the members of the Council, the Pope, it is true, drops a Roman hint about St. Peter's care, and assumes that the Apostolic See had always looked into such cases as involved vigilant action against Nestorians. But his own part in the matter had not after all been very great, and he emphatically ascribed the final settlement to the General Council as such, and justly. Finally we come to Leo and Chalcedon. St. Leo laid great stress on the doctrine which implied that St. Peter was supreme ruler of the first Christians, including the Apostles. He formed and developed a far more distinct and pronounced theory on the prerogatives of Peter than had previously expressed itself in the Church at large, and even at Rome itself it had only so far found utterance in forms less emphatic and detailed. Leo failed to obtain from Theodosius his consent that a Council should meet in Italy, and the failure showed that the Bishop of Rome was not then regarded as the spiritual ruler of Christendom. The deputies of Leo at Chalcedon were in form only first voters, but they took every opportunity of asserting their master's dignity, and they sat in a place of honour with other prelates to the left of the commissioners. The chief Roman deputy said that the Pope of Rome, the head of all Churches, had

ordered that Dioscorus should not sit in the Council, and as a compromise he was directed to sit apart. When he was deposed Leo's deputies voted first, but the deposition was the act of the whole body. The great Tome was ranked with other precious explanations of the Creed. It was not regarded as intrinsically above discussion, nor accepted as the *ex-cathedra* pronouncement of an infallible Pope, on the principles of the Vatican Council of 1870; not a few of its statements were accepted only after they had been proved to be supported by the teaching of St. Cyril. The last point to be noticed is the discussion of the rights of the Constantinopolitan See. The Roman deputies first absented themselves from the discussion. On the next day the chief deputy read his version of the sixth Nicene canon, and Leo subsequently refused to confirm the place assigned to Constantinople on the ground of infringement of Nicene law. The whole discussion shows that the primacy of Rome was a primacy of honour, not a supremacy, and its ground was the civil dignity of the city of Rome as the ancient capital of the Empire, and its position as the one Apostolic see of the West, though doubtless there were other and subordinate causes contributing to the same result. If Rome had possessed any acknowledged supremacy of a different kind, the whole character of Church history would have been different.

Such was the *Age of the Fathers*, and such were the chief events that happened and the chief men that engaged in them in the high places of the Christian field during this period. As we lay these volumes down we trust, as Dr. Lock says, that the painstaking and unselfish efforts which others have made to render them worthy of Dr. Bright and of their subject will help many who read them to catch some of his enthusiasm for the cause and Church of Jesus Christ, whom he loved and served throughout his life and with his whole great heart to the uttermost.

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ART. IV.—THE HISTORY OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH OF CYPRUS.

1. *The History of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus.* By J. HACKETT, B.D., Chaplain to the Forces. (London: Methuen, 1900.)
2. *The Church in Cyprus.* By the Rev. H. T. F. DUCKWORTH, Representative of the Eastern Church Association in Cyprus. (London: S.P.C.K., 1900.)

MR. HACKETT'S book, as the author himself informs us in his preface, is the outcome of studies and observations prosecuted in Cyprus itself, in the course of a period of years during which he resided in the island as Chaplain to the Forces there stationed. The author left Cyprus in 1894, but he has kept himself well posted in the history of all that has passed since then. His personal acquaintance, therefore, with Cyprus and the Cypriotes, his constant recourse to the best sources of information now available, and the wide range and studious accuracy of his investigations in the records of the past, all unite to make his book a contribution of the highest value to ecclesiastical history in general, as well as to the history of the Cyprian Church, which is also that of the Cyprian people.

Mr. Hackett divides his history into twelve chapters, which fall into three groups. The first group, consisting of chapters i. ii. iii. and iv. (pp. 1-237), contains the history from the landing of St. Barnabas and St. Paul (Acts xiii.) to the time of the British occupation, which was inaugurated in 1878. The next five chapters (pp. 238-466) deal with the internal constitution of the Cyprian Church, the Monasteries, the Hagiology, and Relics. Hagiology and Relics suggest superstition and witchcraft, but their importance is rather too easily underrated. They may be useless for the history of politics, but they are indispensable for the history of religion. The last three chapters (pp. 467-650) treat of the Latin Church Establishment under the Princes of the House of Lusignan and the Venetian Government (1193-1570), and

the settlements of various religious orders of the Roman Communion in the island. In a series of Appendices we find, among other things, the Decrees of the Council of Nicosia (1668), the text of the Berat or writ of investiture delivered by the Sultan Abdul Aziz to the late Archbishop Sophronios, and copies of correspondence which passed between Mr. Hackett and the prelates of the Church of Cyprus. The volume, for all its 720 pages, is unusually light to hold in the hand. It is admirably illustrated with photographs, and two maps, one of the present Orthodox dioceses, the other of the Latin dioceses formed within a few years of the establishment of the Latin kingdom.

When St. Barnabas and St. Paul landed at Salamis, on the east coast of Cyprus, the island was already a Greek island, and its Hellenic character survives to this day. The native Hellenic or Hellenized population has been governed, held subject, coerced, even persecuted, by Romans, Arabs, Frenchmen, Italians, and Turks. It is still subject to alien, though enlightened, rule. But it is still, as it has been for centuries, Greek in language, religion, and sentiment. Ever since Cœur-de-Lion extinguished the last vestiges of Byzantine sovereignty in Cyprus, the native Church has sheltered the Hellenism of the native population. But that ecclesiastical organization, in which the Cypriotes have escaped engulfment in the successive floods and waves of alien invasion, and which from first to last has been Greek, began its existence within twenty years after the Saviour's Ascension. The Church of Cyprus may justly claim to be the most ancient Church in *Greek Christendom*.

The position of the Church of Cyprus, in relation to the Eastern Orthodox Church in general, is a peculiar one. It confesses the Faith according to the distinctive form in which it is received and taught in all the Orthodox Churches, and its rites and ceremonies are all of the Eastern Orthodox type. Its monasteries are constituted on the model common to all Greek monasteries. But it is an independent Church—*αὐτοκέφαλος*. It may accept, but is not constrained to follow, the recommendations of the Church of Constantinople, the metropolis of Greek Orthodoxy. The Archbishop of

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Cyprus is not subordinate to any patriarchal authority. It may indeed be said of him that he is a patriarch in all but the name, for the other bishops of Cyprus, who acknowledge him as their Primate, are Metropolitans.

This independence was recognized, not granted, by the Council of Ephesus in A.D. 431, the recognition being elicited by an appeal of the bishops and clergy of the island against the attempts of John, Bishop of Antioch, to establish his jurisdiction over them. The formal recognition of the apostolicity and independence of the Cyprian Church was made in the eighth Canon of the Council, but the question had still to await its final settlement. In 485, the aggressions of the Bishop of Antioch provoked another appeal on the part of the Cypriotes. On this occasion the appeal was made to the Emperor Zeno, at Constantinople. Anthemius, Bishop of Constantia (Salamis), went in person to Constantinople, taking with him the news of the miraculous recovery of the body of St. Barnabas, and a manuscript copy of St. Matthew's Gospel, which had been found in the Apostle's tomb. The manuscript Gospel, which was believed to be in St. Barnabas's own handwriting, was presented to the Emperor, who deposited it in one of the churches attached to the imperial palace. Anthemius's appeal was referred to Acacius, Patriarch of Constantinople, and the bishops of his synod, who gave decision in accordance with the eighth of the Ephesine Canons. Too much importance, it would seem, was attached to the discovery of the alleged body of St. Barnabas in a cavern near Salamis, as evidence of the justice of the Cyprian claims. No relics were needed to convince the Fathers assembled in council at Ephesus.

The decision of Acacius and his Synod was enforced by Zeno in an edict, which forbade the Bishop of Antioch, or any other prelate, to interfere with the autonomy of the Church of Cyprus, and recognized the Bishop of Constantia (Salamis),¹ as Metropolitan of the whole island, under the title of 'Archbishop of all Cyprus.' This imperial edict, then, was a confirmation of the *status quo ante* for the Bishop of

¹ Salamis having been laid in ruins by an earthquake, in 343, was rebuilt by the Emperor Constantius, and renamed Constantia.

Constantia, as bishop of the principal city in Cyprus, must have held a very conspicuous primacy among his equals.

Since the eighth century, the Cyprian Primate's full title has been 'Archbishop of Justiniana Nova and all Cyprus' (Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος Νέας Ἰουστινιανῆς καὶ πάσης Κύπρου). The addition of 'Justiniana Nova' commemorates a strange and rather unhappy episode in the history of the island. In the year 686 the Emperor Justinian II. and the Khalifa Abd-ul-Melik made a treaty of peace, one of the clauses of which put Cyprus under a sort of 'dual control,' the Emperor and the Khalifa sharing the revenues. Two years later Justinian resumed hostilities, and, in despair of being able to retain any hold upon Cyprus, ordered the Christian population to migrate to the southern shores of the Hellespont and Propontis. A city was built for the exiles, who were accompanied by their Archbishop. This city was called Justinianopolis Nova, after the name of the Emperor, who by a vigorous stretch of imperial power obtained from the Quinisext Council (Conc. in Trullo, 691) the ratification of an edict by which he had invested his new foundation with the dignity of an ecclesiastical metropolis, superseding Cyzicus, the ancient metropolis of the province. This ratification is contained in the thirty-ninth Canon of the Quinisext Council. The Archbishop of Cyprus, placed in occupation of the new metropolitan throne, was empowered to exercise such authority and jurisdiction as appertained to his own proper see of Constantia. This arrangement trenchd on the privileges of Constantinople as well as Cyzicus, inasmuch as the Archbishop of Cyprus, translated to Justinianopolis Nova, retained the independence he had enjoyed in his own country and province. His new province formed an independent 'enclave' within the territory of the Constantinopolitan Patriarchate. Probably, however, the prelates whose rights had been thus invaded were induced to acquiesce on the understanding that the jurisdiction of Justinianopolis Nova would lapse, and the *status quo ante* be restored, as soon as the Cypriotes were repatriated.

The addition of 'Νέα Ἰουστινιανή' to the Archbishop's title commemorates these events. The αὐτοκέφαλον of the

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Cyprian Church was retained, even in exile. But after the repatriation of the Cyprian exiles, the primates of Cyprus never claimed any jurisdiction over the cities and bishoprics of the Hellespontine province.¹

The date of their return to Cyprus is uncertain, though it cannot have taken place later than 787, the date of the Second Nicene Council, in which the Cyprian Primate was present as Bishop of Constantia, not of Justinianopolis Nova.

The inhospitable treatment meted out by Isaac Comnenus, who had usurped the government of the island, to Berengaria of Navarre and her escort, and others of Richard Cœur-de-Lion's following who had been driven by stress of weather to seek refuge on the shores of Cyprus, brought about the invasion and conquest by the English king in the month of May, 1191. Having made Isaac Comnenus prisoner, and reduced all the fortresses, Richard continued his journey to the Holy Land, leaving garrisons at Nicosia, the capital, and other important points. He found, however, that the retention of the island demanded more troops than he could spare, and was fain to sell his conquest to the Templars for 100,000 byzants. But the Templars returned their purchase, after a brief and much disturbed occupation. Richard then handed Cyprus over to Guy de Lusignan, the discrowned king of Jerusalem. Guy had lost his kingdom in the fatal battle of Kurn-Hittin (1187), and his title had been taken away by the voices of the princes and barons in the Holy Land, who transferred it in 1192 to Henri de Champagne, Richard's nephew. To compensate Guy, Richard found him a new domain in Cyprus. The terms of this transfer have not been ascertained beyond dispute, and it must remain doubtful whether, as Vinisaufr reports, Richard bestowed Cyprus upon Guy as a free gift (Hackett, p. 70).

Guy de Lusignan took possession of Cyprus in 1193. He contented himself with the title of 'Seigneur.' The more

¹ This episode is dealt with at length by Mr Hackett in pp. 36-46 of his book. It should be noticed that the Archbishop of Cyprus who was present at the Second Nicene Council (787) signs as 'Bishop of Constantia' simply. The form Νέα Ἰουστινιανή is an error for Νέα Ἰουστινιανούπολις.

august title of 'King' was first assumed by his brother and successor, Amaury, who took oath of allegiance to the Emperor Henry VI., and was crowned king by Archbishop Conrad of Hildesheim in 1196.

Until this year, 1196, the native Church still retained its rights and liberties. Its *αὐτοκέφαλον* was inviolate as yet. But it was not inviolable, as the Orthodox were to learn by sad experience. Guy de Lusignan had no time to give to affairs ecclesiastical. But his successor, Amaury (1194-1205), set matters *en train* for the introduction and establishment of a Latin hierarchy. After some delay, caused by the Pope's demand for endowments for the bishoprics, the Archdeacons of Lydda and Laodicea were commissioned by Celestine III. to organize the Latin Church in the island (February, 1196).

Cyprus thus became a province of the Papacy, having four dioceses, the sees of which were fixed at Nicosia, Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta. Nicosia was made the metropolis.¹ The occupant of the metropolitan see was to hold the title of Archbishop, and the bishops of Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta were to be his suffragans. Endowments for the several sees were made at the expense of the native Orthodox Church.

'The action of Celestine III.,' observes Mr. Hackett (p. 75, note 1), 'in thus establishing the Roman hierarchy in the island, constituted a most glaring breach of Canon Law. Not only did he act in open defiance of the eighth decree of the Third Œcumenical Council, which especially exempted Cyprus from all external interference, but he also contravened the code of the universal Church by ordaining in a province which did not belong to him, without the invitation of the bishops of that province (Antioch, Can. 13; Constantinople, Can. 2), whereby he incurred deposition, the canonical sentence pronounced against all who so offend. (Apostol. Can. 36; Antioch, Can. 22).'

¹ Nicosia was already, at the time of Richard's invasion, the capital, though the archiepiscopal see was at Famagusta (Ammochostos), on the east coast. Famagusta rose into importance after the destruction of Salamis-Constantia by the Saracens in 648. The survivors removed to Famagusta, which was about four miles to the south, and the headquarters of the archbishopric were transferred thither at the same time.

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But who was to depose the Pope? The attack upon the independence of the Church of Cyprus was pressed home by Celestine and his successors. Such resistance as was possible the Cypriotes offered, but the conflict issued in complete victory for Rome. After sixty years of protesting, appealing, and petitioning, a decision, in the forming of an arbitration between the conflicting claims of the two hierarchies, was given by the Holy See. This decision is known as the 'Constitutio Cypria' of Alexander IV. It was delivered at Anagni on July 3, 1260, and signed by the Pope and eight cardinals (Hackett, p. 114). It confirmed the reduction of the Orthodox sees from fourteen to four, made by Cardinal Pelagius, the papal legate, in 1220. In each Latin diocese there was to be a Greek bishop, exercising authority over the Greek 'schismatics' only, within the limits of that diocese. The Greek bishop was to be the Latin bishop's suffragan for ministering to the Greek population. These Greek bishops were not allowed to reside in the cathedral cities of the Latin dioceses, but had to retire to small towns or villages. In the archiepiscopal diocese there was a Greek bishop resident at Solia; another resided at Arsinoë, or Poli, in the Paphos diocese; a third at Lefkara, in the Limassol diocese; a fourth at Rhizo-Karpási, in the Famagusta diocese. The Latin archbishop was to be recognized as the sole Metropolitan by Latins and Greeks alike. The election and consecration of the Greek bishops were not assumed by the Latins, but each election had to be ratified by the crown, and at his consecration every Greek suffragan had to take an oath of allegiance to his Latin ordinary, by whom he was enthroned. By his oath the Greek bishop bound himself to assist in defending the supremacy of the Church of Rome and the primacy of the Archbishop of Nicosia. The tithes were declared to be the property of the Latin clergy, and the barons of the kingdom were reminded that it was the duty of all, without exception or dispensation, to pay these dues.

The acts of submission wrung from the Greek Orthodox prelates 'their acknowledgment of the Pope as holy, and the presence of Orthodox priests at the funerals, and in the Requiem Masses of the Latins, and at the public services'

(Hackett, p. 148), the attendance of Orthodox bishops at synods convened by the Latins, the feudal homage rendered by them to the Latin intruders—all these things, though done unwillingly, caused them to be regarded by the rest of the Orthodox world as apostates from the true Church and Faith. Cypriotes travelling abroad were treated as men excommunicate by other Orthodox believers—they were as strangers among their own brethren. Mr. Hackett (pp. 141-149) gives an account of the attempts which were made early in the fifteenth century (1405 and 1412) to restore communion between the Churches of Cyprus and Constantinople. The negotiations came to nothing. The report of the situation in Cyprus laid before the Patriarch and Synod of Constantinople represented the Cypriotes as in such complete subjection to the Latin ecclesiastical authority that they were considered to be tainted with the errors of the Western Church, partakers of its sins, and alienated from the true Orthodox communion. They had to wait for the coming of the Turks before they were able to regain their position in Orthodox Christendom.

In 1489, Caterina de Cornaro, widow of King Jacques II., abdicated, and made over her realm to the Republic of Venice, whose influence in Cyprian affairs had been for a considerable time all-powerful. This change of government left the relations of Latins and Orthodox in Cyprus unaltered. The Bull 'De Privilegiis Graecorum' of Leo X., issued in 1521, was intended to apply to Cyprus as well as to other places under Latin rule. It required that the Greeks should submit to the decrees of the Council of Florence (1439), though it mitigated the burden by reserving to the Greeks full liberty to observe their ancient customs and usages, and prohibiting Latin clerics from usurping possession of Greek churches. But in Cyprus, as elsewhere, the Bull was never anything more than a dead letter (Hackett, pp. 173-175).

The end of the Latin tyranny came in 1570, when Selim II., emulous of the fame of his conquering predecessor, Solymán the Magnificent, and provoked by the reports of the depredations committed by pirates whom the Venetians

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allowed to find shelter in Cyprian harbours, despatched a mighty armada to the conquest of the island, which was ill-prepared to resist an invasion. Nicosia was taken by storm on September 9, after a siege of seven weeks. Famagusta held out till August of the following year. Venice made but feeble attempts to reinforce the garrisons, but her resources at the moment were below their usual level, having been greatly reduced by the terrible conflagration which destroyed the arsenal in 1569. The Cypriotes are said to have secretly invited the Turks to invade Cyprus. But the Turks would have certainly come without their invitation. The appearance of the Moslem invader was welcomed by the Orthodox as the signal for their deliverance from the Latin yoke, and this expectation was certainly not disappointed. Mr. Hackett (p. 188) thinks that the price they had to pay for their deliverance was a heavy one. Certainly, the Cypriotes only exchanged one sort of servitude for another, and a number of them, after a short experience of the new *régime*, were fain to leave their country and seek refuge, again under Venetian rule, in Corfu or Crete. Cyprus had been declining in prosperity when it was conquered by the Turks, and the conquest accelerated rather than checked that decline.

It was not indeed to be expected that the Turkish conquest should introduce a golden age. Yet, even on Mr. Hackett's own showing, it brought some relief. It made an end of serfdom and villeinage.

'The old social distinctions which had existed in the island, even before the advent of the Latins, were obliterated, and the Christian population divided into classes, according to the assessment of the poll-tax or Kharaj. The land, which had formerly been the exclusive property of the nobility, was transferred to the peasants. Those who for centuries had been mere bondsmen on the soil were now, on payment of a trifling sum, constituted its possessors, with the right of succession for their descendants. The only impost levied upon them was the tax of a nominal third of their crops in kind. This, with the Kharaj, and a further sum of six piastres each, to secure the free exercise of their religion, formed the sole contribution to the Government' (Hackett, p. 191).

The root of the mischief in the Turkish administration
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was the practice of selling appointments in the Government service to the highest bidder. The Pasha, or Musellim, who had thus obtained his place, had to recoup himself out of the pockets of the taxpayers in his province. Moreover, the Christian prelates were under the never-ending necessity of paying fees and *douceurs* to the civil governors, and thus they fell under temptation to shear their spiritual flocks to the point of flaying.

But whereas the Ottoman tyrannized over the goods and chattels of the Christians, the Latins had oppressed them in the matter of their religion as well. The Moslem Turk proved himself far more tolerant than the Christian Frank or Venetian.

Envoys from the native Christians of Cyprus went from Famagusta to Constantinople in 1572, and obtained from the Grand Vizir a treaty guaranteeing to the Orthodox the following rights and privileges: (1) Freedom in the exercise of their religion and possession of their churches; (2) The right of ransoming monasteries which the Turks had seized; (3) Permission to acquire houses and property and bequeath the same; (4) The supremacy of the Orthodox Church over all other Churches in the island (Hackett, pp. 194-195). The Latin Church had perished in the destruction of the Venetian administration. Of other Christian communities the Maronites and the Gregorian Armenians were allowed to remain, but a considerable time was to pass before any Roman clergy or friars were seen again in Cyprus.

After the Turkish conquest the Orthodox of Cyprus obtained the consecration (1572) of four bishops in Constantinople for succession to the four sees between which the island territory was divided. The Greek Primate now recovered his title of Archbishop and transferred his residence from Solia to Nicosia, while the other bishops took up theirs in Paphos, Limassol, and Famagusta respectively. Early in the seventeenth century the see of Famagusta was suppressed, as the town had greatly dwindled in population. A redistribution of territory appears to have taken place, in which the Archbishop took over the diocese of Famagusta, while he transferred the western part of his own diocese, as hitherto

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delimited, to the resuscitated see of Kyrenia (Hackett, p. 319).

Since then the number of the Cyprian sees has remained the same, viz. four, these four being (1) the Archbishopric at Nicosia, (2) Paphos at Ktima, (3) Kition at Larnaca, (4) Kyrenia at Myrtou. Mr. Hackett enters at some length (pp. 247-260) into the question of the measure of independence enjoyed by an 'autocephalous' archbishop, such as the Archbishop of Cyprus. The position which has been always taken up by authorized spokesmen of the Church of Cyprus is exhibited on pages 246 and 247. 'The presiding bishops of the Church in Cyprus,' says Dositheos of Jerusalem, 'were wont to conduct the consecrations of the bishops in Cyprus, being consecrated also themselves by the bishops according to the apostolical tradition.'

'This statement,' says Mr. Hackett, 'represents the position which the island Church has always resolutely maintained on this important question. It claims to have received its independence direct from the Apostles, and not to owe it either to the action of the Third General Council or to the fortunate discovery at a later period of its founder's remains, as some assert.'

'The supreme control of ecclesiastical affairs,' we learn (p. 260), 'has from the first been vested in the island Synod. This body, as at present constituted, consists of eight members, viz. the Archbishop as President, with the Metropolitans of Paphos, Kition, and Kyrenia, the Hegoumenoi of Kykko and Machaira, the archimandrite and exarch of the diocese, as his assessors.'

The three bishops of Paphos, Kition, and Kyrenia claim metropolitan rank, and have claimed it for a long time past, so that the Archbishop, as their primate, appears to hold the position of a patriarch. He is not, however, according to Dositheos of Jerusalem, equal in rank to a patriarch, but is an ordinary metropolitan invested with independent powers. To all intents and purposes Cyprus is a province in which there is a metropolitan with three diocesans subordinate to him. The metropolitan, however, in this case, is not subordinate to a patriarch. In short, the Archbishop of Cyprus stands in a position not altogether unlike that of the Archbishop of Canterbury. The latter, just as much as

the former, is a 'metropolitan invested with independent powers.'

From 1572 to 1839 the nomination of the Archbishop, and other bishops, was virtually in the hands of the Turkish Governor and the head men of the Greek Christian community residing at Nicosia. Since the promulgation of the Hatti Sherif Gulhané in 1839—an edict of reform—the people at large have taken part in the appointments to bishoprics. There is a triple process of election. In the first stage the villages or parishes in the diocese (or in the whole island, if the vacancy be in the archbishopric) elect representatives. In the second stage these parochial representatives elect from among themselves an appointed number. These 'general' or 'district' representatives proceed to Nicosia, and in concert with the Administrative Synod (*Ἱερὰ Διοικητική Σύνοδος*) elect a successor to the vacant bishopric. The composition of the Synod has already been set forth.

Before the British occupation, which began in 1878, a Berat or imperial rescript ratifying the election and confirming the bishop-designate in possession of the temporalities of his see had to be obtained from the Porte. Since 1878 the sees of Paphos, Kition, and Kyrenia have each fallen vacant several times. The archbishopric has only fallen vacant once—by the death of Sophronios II., who passed away on May 9 (22), 1900.

When the Archbishop died two only out of the four bishops of Cyprus were left, for Paphos had fallen vacant early in 1899, and no successor had been found. The two surviving prelates were the metropolitans of Kition and Kyrenia. Within a short time the Orthodox population was divided into two contending factions—one supporting the Bishop of Kyrenia and the Synod; the other, and larger, party supporting the Bishop of Kition, who had quarrelled with and withdrawn from the Synod, of which he had been president, about three weeks after the death of Sophronios. Sixty representatives of towns and districts, or regions, were elected on September 10 (23), 1900. Of these sixty no less than forty-five were declared adherents of the Bishop of Kition, pledged to give their votes for him in the final stage of the election. But to this final stage the Synod refused to

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proceed. Irregularities had taken place, said the Synod, in the election of some of the regional representatives, and these must be looked into. The Kitiaean party saw, or thought they saw, in the Synod's action the clearest evidence of a fraudulent design to cut down the number of their representatives and destroy their majority, and appealed to the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem to intervene and arbitrate. This appeal was denounced by the Synod as a betrayal of the independence of the Cyprian Church, but their opponents justified it by citing cases in which the assistance or intervention of the Church of Constantinople had been invited or submitted to in the course of the last three centuries and a half—instances which are recorded in the chapter in which Mr. Hackett brings down the Church history of Cyprus from the time of the Turkish Conquest to the close of the nineteenth century. It is true that none of these cases was exactly similar to the present conjuncture; still, they might be reasonably held to justify the principle that the Patriarchal Churches might properly be invited to regulate the affairs of the Church of Cyprus whenever that Church was unable to regulate them itself.

That the Church of Cyprus was unable to manage its own affairs properly was indeed asserted, in effect at least, by the Kitiaeans, who called in question the validity of all the official acts and proceedings of the Synod, on the ground that the Synod, as then existing, included only one bishop, the other members being abbots and archimandrites. Such a Synod, they said, was uncanonical and therefore destitute of authority. This argument, indeed, would have been applicable even while the Bishop of Kition was President of the Synod, and there was much to say for the view, taken by some, that before the election to the archbishopric was taken in hand at all, a successor ought to be found for the vacant see of Paphos, so that the necessary third bishop might be present, who might act as a moderator between the contending Kitiaeans and Kyrenians. The supporters of the Synod, however, contended that occasions had arisen in the past when only two bishops were left in that body, and that no proceedings taken by it under such circumstances had ever yet been questioned or declared invalid.

The patriarchs, to whom appeal was made, ordered both parties to surcease from further action until definite recommendations could be made, and so matters came to a standstill in December 1900. In January 1901 a third attempt was made to fill the vacancy at Paphos. The Archimandrite Panaretos Douligeris, of Athens, was elected. But the ecclesiastical authorities in Greece refused to consent to his availing himself of the election, not feeling sure whether the election was favourably regarded by the British Government. It was certainly not regarded with unanimous favour in the Paphian diocese, and the Archimandrite no doubt has done wisely by staying at home. The enforced abdication of the Patriarchate of Constantinople by Constantine V., and the election of a successor, produced a long delay, but no disposition to reconciliation between the contending parties in Cyprus. It is doubtful whether either side was prepared to abide by any decision which should run counter to its cherished purpose. The Kitiaens were determined that their man should be the next Archbishop of Cyprus. The Synod was equally determined that whoever the next Archbishop might be, he should not be Kyrillos of Kition.

In October 1901 Joachim III., the new Patriarch of Constantinople, restored after seventeen years' retreat on Mount Athos, despatched an envoy to Cyprus. The envoy came simply to investigate and report. He executed his commission with skill, for he persuaded the leaders and representatives of the contending parties, at a conference held in Nicosia on October 29, to signify in writing their consent that the 'question of the Archbishopric' should be decided by the Patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, and Jerusalem.¹

The patriarchs, having received the envoy's report, urged that the sixty representatives, elected in September 1900 should proceed, together with the Synod, to elect an Archbishop. To this the Synod demurred, knowing the predilec-

¹ No appeal was made to Antioch, as the other patriarchs had broken off relations with that see, regarding the present occupant, Meletios, as having been improperly and irregularly elected. Their strongest objection to Meletios, however, is the fact that he is an Arab.

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tions of forty-five out of the sixty to be in favour of the Bishop of Kition. The arbitrators then declared the Bishops of Kition and Kyrenia ineligible, and proposed three candidates of their own nomination. Loud and indignant protests were raised, which were not quelled by a threat that if the Cypriotes refused to hold an election, a successor would be elected in Constantinople. The Patriarch of Alexandria, however, not being in favour of this extreme measure, instructed his deputy at Constantinople to withdraw (February 1902). A curious revolution has taken place in the attitude of the two factions since October 1901. The Kitiaens, who first appealed to the patriarchs, now denounce and vituperate them for excluding the Bishop of Kition from candidature. The Synod and the Kyrenians, who branded the appeal as treason to the Church of Cyprus, now call for submission to the arbitrators, having been reassured by the exclusion of their adversary.

The last recommendation of the arbitrators, viz. the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Jerusalem, is that certain charges of heresy which have been preferred against the Bishop of Kition shall be investigated by a commission of six members, three from each Patriarchate, who, having despatched this business, shall then superintend the election of an Archbishop in Nicosia. The patriarchs nominate one candidate, but do not insist on, though they strongly recommend, his election. These proposals are contained in a letter to the Bishop of Kyrenia, published in the *Φωνὴ τῆς Κύπρου* of May 18/31, 1902.

The great need of the Church of Cyprus is a properly-educated priesthood. To this need public attention has been repeatedly called in the local Greek press. It is appreciated by the laity, but they are waiting for their ecclesiastical chiefs to take the lead in meeting it. Mr. Hackett gives several extracts from Greek newspapers in his book (p. 282 *sq.*) which show how this matter has exercised the Orthodox mind. Since Mr. Hackett left Cyprus, the question has not been allowed to sleep. In 1897 a long series of articles entitled 'Περὶ Ἐκκλησίας καὶ Κλήρου,' by M. John Gennadios, of London, was published in the *Φωνὴ τῆς Κύπρου*. Not

only the Φωνή, but other papers as well, have ventilated the needs of the Cyprian Church—better education and better endowments for the parochial clergy and churches—again and again. The unhappy events of the last three years have made the necessity of reform only too clear. Something has been done, indeed, already. Associations for the advancement of religious knowledge among the people at large have been founded. Special preachers have been appointed since March 1900 in Nicosia and elsewhere, to make up, in part at least, for what was lacking in the ministry of preaching. The monasteries of Kykko and Machaira, which possess ample resources, might render very effective help. But will they? If their heads were zealous for the good of their Church, they might make their monasteries true homes of sound learning and religious education, and Orthodox monks might startle the world by leading a reformation.¹

¹ On September 12 (25) the Greek journal *Evagoras* announced the reception, by the Bishops of Kition and Kyrenia, of a letter from the Chief Secretary to the Cyprus Government, communicating the reply of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to the High Commissioner's despatches concerning the ecclesiastical situation in Cyprus.

Mr. Chamberlain, it was announced, had come to the conclusion that the only way out of the present *impasse* was to cancel all steps hitherto taken for the election of an Archbishop, and begin the whole process again from the very first stage. The British authorities had no desire to intervene in the affair, except in so far as their intervention might be required in the interests of law and order.

Finally, the Bishop of Kition was requested to rejoin the Synod, which was to take all necessary measures for holding a new election without delay.

A supplementary letter from the Chief Secretary in Cyprus to the two Bishops appeared in *Evagoras*, January 6 (19), of this year. The Bishops had asked for further explanations, though the first communication appears to have been plain enough.

In this second letter the Bishops were informed—

- (1) That the election of an Archbishop must proceed absolutely *de novo*;
- (2) That the Orthodox in Cyprus were to exercise complete liberty to elect according to their established custom;
- (3) That the Government would recognize no election held on any other conditions.

This completes the history up to the close of 1902.

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ART. V.—DR. A. B. DAVIDSON'S SERMONS.

The Called of God. By the late A. B. DAVIDSON, D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., Professor of Hebrew, New College, Edinburgh. Edited by Professor J. A. PATERSON, D.D. With Biographical Introduction by A. TAYLOR INNES, Advocate. (Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1902.)

AMONG those who have made the United Free Church of Scotland an effective force in the world of religious thought, no name stands higher than that of Andrew Bruce Davidson, who, in spite of the retirement which he courted, attained so wide a reputation that without him a British Academy of Letters was deemed incomplete. But, content as he was to exercise his great influence for the most part through the voices and pens of a devoted band of disciples, an exceptional interest attaches to the volume before us, which gives us a living picture of the man and reveals something of the secret of his charm.

That strong independence, not to say individualism, of character, mingled with a no less strong sense of ancestry and home affection, which belongs to the best Scottish type, is abundantly manifest in these sermons. This spirit has a peculiar sympathy with the Hebrew prophets, and naturally fits its possessor to become their interpreter. Dr. Davidson looked out upon the world with the same wistful eyes, he brought to the solution of the perennial problems the same unwavering trust in the unchanging God. The temper of frigid analysis is absent from these pages. Abraham goes out into a far country, Jacob wrestles with the angel at Peniel, Moses comes forth from the darkness of Sinai, Elijah beseeches God to take away his life, just as they did for us in the old days when the cold blast of a negative criticism had not swept over our spiritual ideals. We are not even worried with the casual introduction of critical questions. This is no tribute to the conventions of the pulpit, no deference to popular orthodoxy. Nothing is more apparent than the strong current of reality that pervades these discourses.

They are personal ; they speak from heart to heart ; they reach the conscience. When it is a man closely in touch with critical methods who thus keeps silence, the reason is not that he is afraid to touch dangerous problems, but that their solution does not vitally affect the message which the books have to deliver. The secret of the prophets is only grasped by sympathy.

But it is essential not to forget the broad line of difference that distinguishes Davidson from his remarkable predecessor, 'Rabbi' Duncan. Both these sons of Aberdeen had the native Scots affinity with the Bible and with Hebraic methods of thought, which enabled them to seize the eternal and unchanging truth. But Duncan never could advance the study of a progressive revelation like that of the Old Testament, for the simple reason that his mind was philosophical ; he grasped things in their totality ; on the religious side of him he was a theologian. In the sermons before us there is no systematic theology. They do not approach religion from the point of view of abstract doctrine, but from that of concrete personal experience and human need. Davidson shrank from speculation. He kept close to facts capable of verification. In this direction lay his weakness no less than his strength. It is interesting to hear him insisting that the Book of Job deals with what is a religious problem, and a religious problem only. 'His position,' he declares of the patriarch, 'is properly personal at first ; he has not philosophic view.' This is reiterated : 'he will have nothing to do with such abstract philosophising.' And the answer to the perplexities, whether of Job or of the other characters of the Old or New Testament, with whom the present volume deals, is found to lie in the conscious experience of a present God. 'God's voice'—this is from the sermon on the Call of Abraham—'is self-evidencing. It approves itself to man as the voice of God.' Abraham, like all subsequent believers, of whom he is the type, 'had evidence which he could not resist.'

This distrust of metaphysics, which, as Mr. Taylor Innes assures us, was characteristic of the man from his student days, was the secret of Davidson's success as an interpreter

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of the Hebrew prophets. His intense realism put him in close correspondence with what is so remarkable a feature of the Old Testament—its vivid personality. To him Scripture was 'the reflection of the presence of the living God in human history.' What profoundly stirred him was the moulding of persons through the play of circumstance, the shaping of actual careers by the guiding hand, the education of human spirits in the universal school. This is the historical temper, by which circumstances, events, the exact conditions under which words are uttered or actions done are treated with the importance which rightly attaches to them. So we reach the love of facts, and this makes the laborious, the patient, the scientific scholar. 'Criticism,' said Davidson, 'is the effort of exegesis to be historical.' 'There has been too much tendency to dis sever Revelation from any relation to the human mind in its origin, and to the men of its immediate time in its application.' This, and not a primary interest in what are after all only secondary aspects of Scripture, was the motive of that scientific treatment of his great subject which put Davidson in the forefront of Hebrew scholars.

How well he understood that an experimental method in dealing with the facts of religion requires a wider basis for its operation than the physical sciences is admirably illustrated by the sermon, perhaps the finest in this collection, on the Call of Abraham :

'It is too much to bid us believe that the problem of human destiny is being resolved, or is to be resolved, in the laboratory of the experimental philosopher. There is another crucible than that of the chemist, into which we are entitled to cast the experiences of men. There is a crucible into which men feel that they themselves are cast, in order to be tried. And they are conscious of one who sitteth over them as a refiner and purifier.'

Davidson's realism, his appreciation of hard facts, is never more apparent than where he is dealing with the stern and painful side of life. The pathos of his character, as it is now revealed to us, lies in his wistful perception of the irony of existence. We quote from the sermon on Saul's Reprobation :

'It is not amiss for us just to stand before this spectacle of a great human misery, a perplexed, unhappy life, even where we should have

supposed all the elements of happiness were present. Such a sight gives us thoughts of life not without use to us, and makes us wonder at the elements of misery inwrought into it, and life becomes to us something more mysterious, greater, less trivial : and the higher the mind, and the more lofty the part in life, the more and greater seem to be the possibilities of wretchedness. Life seems at first sight like the bright sunlight, one single element of brightness ; yet, when in maturer years we analyse it, we discover it to be made up of many varied colours, and between the colours there are dark, unresolvable lines that will yield to no analysis. In human life there are mysterious veins of misery, do what you will.'

It is because 'the riddles of the painful earth remain,' while nevertheless the heart refuses to deny its other and deeper experience of the living God, that Davidson is true alike to the mystery and the mercy of the prophetic message. On the other hand, we think that these sermons reveal the limitations of a mind which has failed to realise the content of the New Testament with the same vigour with which it has penetrated the spirit of the Old. Some of them, notably that on St. Thomas, bring us well within the sphere of the New Covenant. Yet we confess to some disappointment. There is an absence of Christian joy. The facts of the Gospel have surely more power, not merely to countervail, but to transfigure the sorrows of the world than here appears to be recognized. No doubt the exceeding great and precious promises of God's Word are yet to a large extent unfulfilled, so that it is still true to say that we are saved by hope. Nevertheless the theology of St. John, to take only one example, sets before us the eternal life not less as a present possession than as a blessed hope. 'Truly our fellowship is with the Father and His Son Jesus Christ'—'We have fellowship one with another.' This Dr. Davidson would, of course, freely have admitted. But it seems to us to be only very inadequately realised in his teaching. May we look for the cause in the failure to grasp the conception of the Church, as a living, practical Christian doctrine? Only once, if we remember rightly, does Dr. Davidson in these sermons bring before his hearers that city whereof the builder is God, and then it is only as 'the ideal of the city where God is, where

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men are, wherein dwelleth righteousness,' and the promise of which, it may be, like Abraham, we may have to die without receiving. Uncritical evangelicals, whose spiritual life is largely nourished upon those 'religious conferences,' of the value of which Dr. Davidson professes himself sceptical, are often enabled to gain a warmth of experience to which those who know the discipline of the historical mind are comparatively strangers. And we cannot help wishing that one who so emphatically belonged to the latter class as Dr. Davidson had realised more fully the thought of the Church as the home of the lonely, as that general assembly of the first-born wherein they that are in Christ have already found the heavenly Jerusalem.

But as we lay down this record, all too short and inadequate, of what Andrew Davidson was permitted to be and to do for his generation, the main thought in our mind is a renewed sense of thankfulness that in an age of readjustment, with all the perplexities and possibilities of loss which it involves, there should have been granted to us a teacher of teachers so strong, so sympathetic, so full of conviction as he, whose loss is still mourned as a present sorrow by Christians of many confessions.

ART. VI.—THE LETTERS OF TWO MYSTICS.

1. *Letters of Emilia Russell Gurney*, edited by her niece, ELLEN MARY GURNEY. (London: Nisbet and Co., 1902.)
2. *Letters of Andrew Fukes*, edited with a short Biography by HERBERT H. JEAFFRESON. (London: Longmans Green and Co., 1903.)

THERE is something that connects these two series of letters, apart from the fact that the writers lived for some years on terms of intimate friendship. It is plain that each recognised in the other a kindred spirit, and that to both life presented itself mainly under one aspect—namely, as a continuous and

progressive manifestation of spiritual facts and laws. In other words, both were by training and temperament inclined to mysticism in religion; but while Andrew Jukes had something of the insight and intensity of a seer, Emilia Russell Gurney's enthusiasm for truth and beauty was that of a disciple—impressionable, receptive, fastidious indeed, but on the whole uncritical. An interesting comment on their friendship, by Mr. Jeaffreson, sets the difference between the two in a clear light.

'She was always ready to welcome light, or what seemed to be light, from any quarter, and was not always careful to harmonise fresh light with truths previously ascertained or with the elements of the Creed. Mr. Jukes, on the other hand, grasping some basal truth, was disposed to disregard whatever he did not consider as in harmony with it. . . . Perhaps the difference was that between two persons, one of whom is an accredited teacher of others, and feels the heavy responsibility of putting opinions before them. I fancy it was some difference of temper, rather than any contradictory opinions, which kept them from being entirely sympathetic in thought, and I am sure that no difference marred their mutual love.

'To put the same thing in a different way, I should say that Mr. Jukes' was an affirmative, Mrs. Russell Gurney's an interrogative mind. He had not much interest in many things which occupied her; he read little poetry, met few people who were not in some way religious, seldom cared to discuss politics, and was not very deeply concerned even in philosophy, except so far as it touched religion. She, I imagine, was interested in everybody and everything. No doubt the circumstances of their lives accounted to some extent for this difference.'¹

The secret indeed of Mrs. Russell Gurney's singular charm, and of the warmth of affection with which she inspired those who came in contact with her, seems to have lain not so much in her gifts of mind and imagination as in what may be called an enthusiasm of receptivity. Her heart was ever sensitive to the appeals of nature, the claims of sorrow, the mysteries of spiritual experience.

'I would say, "Grow, grow!" to all,' she writes, 'and I believe a right growth can only come from maintaining the constant attitude

¹ *Letters of E. R. Gurney*, p. 177.

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of receiving, the child spirit before the Heavenly Father, which is the growing up into the Son in all things. 'I would say to you, live fully in the present. Let the everlasting, the spiritual, come to you *through* your present experiences, and not through *further on* people's. It is your best preparation for the future, I believe, to take root well.'

Mrs. Russell Gurney, indeed, came early in life under influences which predisposed her to mysticism. She was at one time, both before and after her marriage, a pretty constant visitor at Linlathen in Forfarshire, the residence of Mr. Thomas Erskine, the friend of Carlyle, and his sisters. Miss Wedgewood records her impressions of Linlathen. An atmosphere of strange unworldliness reigned there. It was a life 'impossible to reproduce except in negatives.' Mr. Erskine himself seldom opened a newspaper or gave a thought to the doings of the world. His life was

'the sigh of an exile. . . . He never took root in our world To him the world and all it contains except human spirits, the whole scenery and circumstances of life, was but a language in which, when rightly interpreted, man might decipher the idiom and accents of a more permanent home. "What does it all mean?" he would ask, as we passed under the waving boughs, and he looked round with a sort of wondering gaze, as if he were the inhabitant of some distant planet just dropped upon our earth. . . . The feeling I have tried to describe made all nature wondrously, endlessly interesting to him. . . . Once, in this journey, to have met a fellow-traveller to whom all the scenery of life, all that most interests ordinary human beings, is but as the furniture of an inn—this is an experience which none can wish to exchange for any other, except those who do not value it at all.'

Several deeply interesting letters of Thomas Erskine's find a place among those of Mrs. Russell Gurney. They may be said to illustrate the less attractive side of mysticism—its narrowness, its somewhat vague and loose hold on moral law.

'I never would think of requiring a sense of sin from any one,' he writes. 'We cannot have that by trying to have it. But the very smallest amount of spiritual thought must give us the consciousness of weakness and dependence. God made us to live as receivers out

of Him, and conscious receivers: receivers from a loving Father, who desires to give us His sympathy and to receive ours.¹

Again, he strenuously denies that God stands to man in the relation of judge to criminal:

'He has nothing at all to consider which can form a parallel to those claims of the country which, for a judge, are paramount; that subordination of the one to the many, which is of the very essence of our laws, is the first thing to put aside in apprehending our position towards God.'

The passage is remarkable, as illustrating at once the optimism which is so characteristic of the mystical habit of mind, and the intense individualism which is apt to ignore the fact that the moral government of God is (in Butler's phrase) 'carried on by general laws.' It is interesting, however, chiefly as evidence of the type of mind by which Mrs. Russell Gurney was early and powerfully impressed.

Of Linlathen Mrs. Gurney used to speak as 'the home of my soul.' It is not a matter of surprise that she took a constant and eager part in the conferences organised by Lord and Lady Mount-Temple at Broadlands, of which Mr. G. W. E. Russell has lately published a brief but discriminating sketch.² The following enthusiastic description is from Mrs. Russell Gurney's own pen. Speaking of the Broadlands gathering she says:

'It was not for the teaching of religious truths, nor for the arousing of the careless, nor even for taking counsel one with another on spiritual subjects, though, I think, all these objects were in a measure attained; it was rather for the blending of hearts, through prayer and silence and separation from the world, and thus preparing a condition, or, as it might be expressed, an atmosphere, in which the teaching of the Spirit should be heard, and the truths we already accepted vitalised. . . . In this atmosphere we shared all things in common. Self seemed to pass out of sight, and even the sanctuary of the heart's Holy of Holies was revealed without a sense of profanation.'³

¹ *Letters*, p. 22.

² See *The Household of Faith*, pp. 204 foll.

³ *Letters of E. R. Gurney*, p. 144.

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It was apparently at Broadlands that she first made the acquaintance of Mr. Andrew Jukes, 'who,' as she says, 'had not tarried in the letter of the Word, but had discerned everywhere beneath it the *living* Word.' The mystical temper again shows itself in the remark which closes one of Mrs. Russell Gurney's letters. Speaking of the meetings at Broadlands, she says :

'A joyous little child often flitted round the tabernacle of beech trees, and served to symbolise the filial spirit, as set forth by some among us in the oft-quoted words of St. Augustine, "Love, and do as you like."'

These conferences exactly suited Mrs. Russell Gurney's peculiar temperament. She seems to have had little or no interest in theology regarded as a science. Distinctions of creed were apparently of little importance to her ; nor does she show, with all her gifts, a power of *intellectual* sympathy with beliefs differing from her own. Hers was an artistic and strongly emotional temperament. 'She loved,' says a friend, 'to sit at the feet of religious and artistic teachers ; as she once said to me, "I have an intense pleasure in being converted."'¹ She confesses in a letter to the late Mr. J. H. Shorthouse that she has 'a great weakness for fanaticism.' She tells how 'the quaint negress missionary, Amanda Smith . . . made us partakers of her joy by her simple, rapturous story of finding or being found of Him.'² The outcome of her correspondence with Mr. Corbet, the Rector of Stoke-upon-Terne, whom she met at Broadlands, was a series of *Letters from a Mystic of the Present Day*. She had, in fact, the happy power of drawing spiritual nutriment from teachers of every creed. At one time she is 'deep in Jacob Boehme ;' at another she writes of a volume of Dr. Martineau's sermons, lent her by a friend :

'It is as if you had lent me an Eolian harp, all sensitive to the breathings of the winds of God. . . . I am afraid of being too enthusiastic about it ; it seems to me lovelier than anything I ever read. . . . How is it that one who so recognises all called forth in man by the Spirit in Apostolic teaching and the needs of man,

¹ *Letters*, p. 143.

² *Ibid.* p. 147.

should think the facts of Christianity are just imagined by man, I cannot understand. But it does not prevent my rejoicing in and longing to bathe in all this blessed man has found in Christ. Why have you not told me some more about this exquisite being?'¹

It will have appeared from what has been said that this collection of letters is of no ordinary interest. Among Mrs. Gurney's correspondents at different times were Miss Julia Wedgewood, Mr. Erskine, General Gordon, Mr. J. H. Short-house, and Dr. George Macdonald, and the book abounds both in touches of rare personal interest and in noteworthy reminiscences of distinguished men of science or letters, such as Charles Darwin and F. D. Maurice. In America and the West Indies, where she spent some time with her husband at different periods of her life, Mrs. Gurney seems to have made an intelligent and sympathetic study of the moral and social condition of the native population; but her letters from abroad are mainly interesting for some very delicate and beautiful descriptions of natural scenery. Typical passages of this kind are the descriptions of Niagara,² of the Sea of Galilee,³ of a sunrise in the Sargasso Sea,⁴ of a scene near Spanish Town,⁵ and of the view from Taormina, 'not only the most magnificent view in Sicily, but the most magnificent in the world.'⁶ Throughout the letters the influence of her early associations is displayed in her deeply religious or sacramental conception of nature:

'I own,' she says, speaking of West Indian scenery, 'I feel intoxicated with beauty and overpowered with the sense of the goodness of Him who has so decked for us the world, and has permitted us northern ones to behold what the blessed sun can call forth from the earth when he has his way. . . . It is impossible not to feel what a type this material abundance is, of the putting forth and blossoming of the spiritual world in the true light when it shines indeed—when the world shall remember itself and turn to the Lord; what miracles and prodigies will then become the natural order of things.'⁷

We have said nothing of Mrs. Gurney's scheme, so cha-

¹ *Letters*, p. 171.

² *Ibid.* pp. 200 and 204.

³ *Ibid.* p. 297.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 204.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 291.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 298.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 357.

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racteristic of her ardently religious temperament, 'to plant in some great highway of London a place of rest for wayfarers and for prayer and meditation.' Mr. Frederic Shields, whom Mrs. Gurney commissioned to decorate the walls of the proposed 'sanctuary,' tells us that according to her original idea the building was to have two courts—'an inner one, with seats for wayfarers' rest, having a fountain in its centre overflowing, and its walls haply painted with deeds of brotherly kindness; and in the inner courts those very acts in the new creation from whence these spring through the one perfect Head.'¹ This scheme was the crowning plan of her life, and in March 1896 she had the satisfaction of inspecting Mr. Shield's work in her 'treasure house.' Before the actual completion, however, of the 'Chapel of the Ascension,' she was struck down with illness, and after lingering for seven months she passed away on October 17, 1896.

The letters of Mr. Jukes, extracts from which are collected in Mr. Jeaffreson's volume, are not of the same personal interest as those of Mrs. Russell Gurney, but they do to a certain extent explain the extraordinary popularity of his published writings, and the powerful spell he exercised on minds of widely divergent type. The main facts of his career are, we suppose, pretty well known. He was educated at Harrow, and for some time held a commission in the army, which he relinquished in order to educate himself for the ministry of the Church. He proceeded to Cambridge, where in 1840 he won the Hulsean Prize for an essay on *The Principles of Prophetic Interpretation*. Within a year of his ordination as Deacon he left the Church in consequence of difficulties connected with the oath required by the Act of Uniformity. He was suspended from his curacy at Hull, and became a Dissenter. He even submitted to rebaptism in a Baptist chapel, and ultimately took the oversight of a congregation in a chapel specially built for his use. In consequence, however, of dissensions which arose, first, in connexion with the type of worship he had introduced in his church, which was objected to as formal and ritualistic—later, in consequence of his book, *The Restitution of All*

¹ *Letters*, p. 271.

Things, Mr. Jukes resigned his pastorate, left Hull, and removed to Highgate. He formed many warm friendships with leading Churchmen, and eventually applied to the Bishop of London for permission to officiate as a Deacon in the diocese. From this time forward he was in constant contact with his brother clergy, and was frequently welcomed as a speaker or expositor of Scripture at various meetings in London. His correspondence and his literary work, however, made heavy demands on his strength. About 1896 his health began to fail seriously, and he died at Southampton two years ago (1901). He was buried at Hull by the side of his wife, whom he had lost in 1880.

The book before us suffers to some extent by the limitation of its scope and its want of arrangement. In effect it is a collection of extracts from a correspondence ranging over forty-four years. At the best, the volume illustrates Mr. Jukes's habit of mind, the spirit of devotion which animated him, and the depth and width of his intellectual sympathies. But the extracts are not arranged on any logical plan. Some of them show the writer's capacity as a spiritual guide; several deal with the state of the Church, and contain some thoughtful criticism of the characteristics of Dissent and of Roman Catholicism; others touch on profound questions of philosophy and religion; but most of the extracts are best described as aphorisms, full of suggestive thoughts which Mr. Jukes has expounded at large in his various writings.

The letters to which we propose to call special attention are those which throw light on Mr. Jukes's own intellectual position in relation to the Church which he rejoined after a comparatively brief experience of Dissent.

'I once,' he writes in 1892, 'thought Dissent a religious thing. It was so at first. The sin of the Church in former years almost forced true hearts and tender consciences into separation and dissent from her. Even in my young days Dissent was to a great extent religious, though mixed with not a little self-will. Now it is everywhere mainly social and political. . . . Political power is sought at all costs, even by alliance with Romanists and infidels, if only the Church of England can be pulled down, as they think, by disestablishment.'

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He goes on to say that disestablishment is certain,

'in the State as much as in the Church.' 'When I think of all the sins of the last three hundred years, and the State-subserviency of the bishops, though there have been exceptions, I do not wonder at anything which may come as judgment on that which was set here to be God's chosen witness.'

On the whole Mr. Jukes's sympathies with High Churchmen were strong and warm. He writes temperately but decidedly against the practice of habitual confession, 'which,' he thinks, 'impairs that proper shame which is Divinely implanted in our nature, and, further, appears to me to tend directly to spiritual weakness;'¹ and he also impugns the rigorist view of fasting communion. But he more than once defends the practice of prayer for the departed, remarking that 'if Protestantism were not as blind as it is, it would have had eyes to see long ago' that the habit is not 'mere natural affection.' On the other hand, he never conceals his detachment from all party ties.

'While as yet,' he writes in 1883, 'I have had no place of my own on earth where I can lay my spirit's head, I have, by God's providence, been led to see, what so few see, . . . how true and simple and how really alike also is the faith and love which exists in schools of thought apparently the most opposite.'²

Thus in his view of baptism he acknowledges obligations to 'both those beloved men,' Pusey and Maurice. Three teachers 'more than any others outside the Bible have helped me'—William Law, Augustine, and F. D. Maurice. 'Perhaps,' he adds, 'I ought to name a fourth—I refer to Origen.'³ In a severe and plain-spoken criticism of so-called 'Evangelicalism' he does not complain of 'simply imperfect views of doctrine.'

What seems to me the real evil in this matter lies not so much in the error of certain views as in the self-conceit of those who hold them as their party-badge, and as the truth of God, which makes them, as they think, the special guardians of the Gospel.'⁴

¹ *Letters of Andrew Jukes*, p. 83.

² *Ibid.* p. 112.

³ *Ibid.* p. 170.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 132.

And of Romanism he says :

'The truth is that in Roman Catholicism there are two distinct and different elements. There is the Catholic element, which is true, and the Roman element, which seems to me untrue. The sad thing is that, in practice, the Roman element, which is the lust of rule at all price, is put first ; and what is true and good and Catholic is too often misused to hold souls in bondage to what is merely Roman.' ¹

In 1880 he tells a friend that he has of late been strongly tempted to join the E.C.U., but has abandoned the idea, a course for which he gives a characteristic reason :

'I cannot join the E.C.U., for I think I see distinctly that it is God's own purpose to overthrow the Church, even as it was His will to overthrow Jerusalem of old when her time had come.' ²

On the whole, however, Mr. Jukes seems to have been drawn most decidedly towards High Churchmen ; in them he sees, as he quaintly puts it,

'the beauty of having a mother, or rather of having a very devoted appreciation of a mother's claims and of her value. "Mother Church" is always in their mouths and hearts. For they feel that they owe her not a little. Of course there is an evil in boys having been brought up only by a mother, good as she may be. But children brought up without the training of a mother lose immensely. I think I see this with those who think little of Mother Church because they have never known her.' ³

¹ *Letters of Andrew Jukes*, p. 149.

² *Ibid.* p. 79.

³ *Ibid.* p. 113. It is interesting to compare with this remark a quaint but shrewd passage from Dr. A. B. Bruce's *Apologetics* (p. 505) : 'Speaking generally, with reference to the actual situation, it may be said that a believing man does well to be jealous of Church power for Christ's sake. The Church is a mother, and like that of all mothers her influence is helpful up to a certain point, and beyond that is apt to be a hindrance to spiritual development. She is fond of managing, and does not readily recognise that in the case of many of her grown-up sons the best thing she can do is to leave them to the guidance of a higher wisdom. The ecclesiastical spirit does not foster, or value, vigorous, intractable individuality. It has too often driven men of this type into dissent or banishment, thinking it better they should be without than that the comfort of passive obedience should be disturbed within. Yet what is a Church without such men—men of earnest thought and robust moral sentiments—but a salt without a savour ?'

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His strong sacramental instinct, and his reverence for the flesh as the manifestation and vehicle of spirit, attracted him to that school of thought which, as he thought, laid supreme stress upon the doctrine of the Incarnation. In an energetic protest against false spirituality he writes :

'It seems to me that nothing is so spiritual as true love, which can stoop to every form, even to coming in the flesh as God has done, even to the form of the slave and captive, to change it back into the lord and freeman.'¹

Perhaps his favourite Church was that of his friend and disciple, the late Rev. Alfred Gurney—a Church 'destined to be for him,' as for others, 'the place of much blessed worship.'

What Mr. Jeaffreson says of Andrew Jukes is doubtless true :

'His character was not that of a consistent and systematic philosopher, but that of a seer whose eyes were opened to discern what most men ignore.' 'He always spoke as one who saw the truth which he was describing, and did not report it on the authority of others.'

He had indeed drunk so deeply of the spirit of the Holy Scriptures that he had caught something of the prophetic temper. Hence it is impossible to label his opinions. As Professor Harnack has observed, it is impossible to classify the Mystics : 'Mysticism is always the same ; above all, there are no national or confessional distinctions in it.'² Mysticism on the one hand stands in close relation to theology, but on the other sits loose to ecclesiastical rules and distinctions. The letters of Andrew Jukes may perhaps be said to illustrate the former characteristic of mysticism, Mrs. Russell Gurney's letters the latter. Both volumes have what may be called a distinctively spiritual value ; they represent a type of piety which is rare in the present day, but which contains elements essential to the Catholic spirit. In different degrees and in different ways the lives of these two devout and gifted writers illustrate the truth of Irenæus's maxim, *Vita hominis visio Dei*.

¹ *Letters of Andrew Jukes*, p. 131.

² *History of Dogma*, vi. 97 [E.T.].

ART. VII.—JANE AUSTEN AND HER BIOGRAPHERS.

1. *The Novels of Jane Austen*. Various editions.
2. *A Memoir of Jane Austen*. By her nephew, J. E. AUSTEN LEIGH. First Edition, 1870. Second Edition of the same, with *Lady Susan* and fragments of other unfinished tales, 1871. (London: Richard Bentley and Son.)
3. *Jane Austen and her Works*. By SARAH TYTLER. (London: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, and Co., 1880.)
4. *Letters of Jane Austen*. Edited, with an Introduction and Critical Remarks, by EDWARD, LORD BRABOURNE. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1884.)
5. *Jane Austen*. By Mrs. CHARLES MALDEN ('Eminent Women Series'). (London: W. H. Allen, 1889.)
6. *Life of Jane Austen* ('Great Writers' series). By GOLDWIN SMITH. (London: Walter Scott, 1890.)
7. *The Story of Jane Austen's Life*. By OSCAR FAY ADAMS. (Chicago: McClurg and Co., 1891.)
8. *Jane Austen: her Homes and her Friends*. By CONSTANCE HILL. (London: John Lane, 1902.)

IT is just a hundred years since *Northanger Abbey* was sold for 10*l.* to a Bath publisher, who on further reflection preferred the loss of that sum to the risk of bringing out so slight a work. It seems to us that the proper time has arrived for taking stock of Jane Austen's literary position, and noting as far as possible the effect of time on her reputation as a novelist.

Most first class, and some second and even third class, authors of fiction enjoy a heyday of popularity and profit, sooner or later, during their lifetime. Then follows a critical period of thirty or forty years. In crossing this sea many reputations go down with all hands, and others survive only in a damaged condition; but those who reach the other side without suffering shipwreck are only made the stronger by the voyage which has tested their durability. There are just now indications that these waves of reaction are attacking

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the fame of some of the great authors of the earlier or middle Victorian period, though there can be no doubt that they will triumphantly surmount them. Jane Austen was to a great extent saved from the operation of this reactionary process by the slender nature and limited sphere of her original popularity. She made only 700*l.* in all by her works during her lifetime; the *Annual Register* for 1817 did not mention her death; and the Verger of Winchester Cathedral was surprised that strangers should ask to see her grave. We may add that her early admirers were either eminent literary men, or persons of less distinction, indeed, but specially susceptible, for reasons impossible to analyse, to the charms of her writings. The former of these two classes probably exercised considerable influence in making her merits more widely known; and neither class would be likely to be much affected by changes of fashion. Her reputation, therefore, probably increased somewhat, instead of diminishing, during the critical period to which we have alluded, and by the end of that period there were many families (like the Macaulays) among whom the speeches of her characters had become household words and the first reading of her novels a stage in the education of each new generation. We feel certain, however, that her fame has advanced at a greatly accelerated pace during the last thirty years. No one, who through the course of that period has been in the habit of watching with affectionate solicitude for indications of the interest taken by the public in his favourite author, can doubt that this is so; and as one of many pieces of evidence we would adduce the list of works enumerated at the head of this article, which, however, does not profess to be exhaustive. As reasons for such an increase the following may fairly be assigned: the testing power of time operating upon real sterling merit; the greater attractiveness of pictures representing the society of a hundred years ago as compared with those of fifty years ago; the extent to which many of the best of the quieter English novelists have familiarized the reading public with Jane Austen by copying her methods; and (as an additional cause) the interest awakened by the publication of her *Life* by her nephew, the Rev. J. E. Austen Leigh.

Excepting a very brief notice written by her brother Henry and prefixed to the first edition of *Northanger Abbey*, Mr. Austen Leigh's *Memoir* was the first (as it has remained the best and most authoritative) account given to the public of the life and character of his celebrated relative. It was but a brief and uneventful story that her biographer had to relate, but it was the story of the life of a delightful, as well as a famous, woman; and it was told with simplicity and good taste. Mr. Austen Leigh's advantages were that he remembered his aunt as a bright and clever lad of eighteen would be sure to remember such an aunt, and that he had two sisters living, one some years older than himself, who could supply such reminiscences as a man would be less likely to retain. His disadvantage, in addition to the want of striking material, was that the material which he might have hoped to have was not all of it available. The Austens had always been a reticent family, and the older members of it would certainly have repudiated the notion that the public had any right in the details of the life of an author whom they condescended to honour. Mr. Austen Leigh acknowledges in a footnote the help he has received from several relatives; he abstains from mentioning the fact that, owing to the age and ill-health of others, he was unable to make use of stores of original letters which were known to exist. A great quantity of these letters have since been published by the late Lord Brabourne. Had the original biographer had access to them he would probably have used them more sparingly; but in any case they would have been to him, as they have been to those who have written since their publication, a mine of information.

In spite of the paucity of material, the *Memoir* draws a very lifelike picture of the author, her work and her surroundings; but we venture to think that a few sentences in it have unintentionally misled subsequent biographers in one or two particulars. Jane Austen has sometimes been represented as a person prim though sarcastic; not easily approached by strangers, and incapable of deep emotion. This is of course a grotesque misrepresentation of her character; but certain casual expressions in the *Memoir* may have formed the base on which this absurd super-

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structure has been raised. Mr. Austen Leigh dwells on the fact that 'her own family were so much and the rest of the world so little to Jane Austen,' and says that beyond her family 'she went very little into society during the last ten years of her life.' Again, after mentioning the sad tale of Cassandra's engagement, which was ended by the death of her lover, he adds 'Of Jane herself I know of no such definite tale of love to relate'; although in his second edition he proceeds to give with some hesitation the account of an attachment which she *may* have formed. Now with regard to the first of these two points—the exclusive shrinking from society and absorption in family life—it is not unnatural that one who had only a boyish remembrance of his aunt, and knew her best during the last year and a half of her life, when she was living at home in failing health, should have formed such an idea of her disposition and habits; and Mr. Austen Leigh had not the advantage of reading the Brabourne letters. To those who have read them it becomes obvious that, so far from shunning society, Miss Austen derived great enjoyment from it—from balls in her Steventon period, at Bath, and even at Southampton; from theatres and miscellaneous society when she stayed with her brother Henry in London; and from her intercourse and friendship with the county families of East Kent, who surrounded her brother Edward at Godmersham. She looked at strangers, indeed, with a certain good-humoured aloofness, but also with that interest which human beings must arouse in one who is herself engaged in creating fictitious characters. 'Miss Fletcher and I were very thick, but I am the thinnest of the two' describes her attitude well; and she would give to her sister in a few words her first impressions of those whom she saw: the gentleman who 'is very religious and has got black whiskers;' the girl who has little to say, 'however, her name is Laura, and she had a double flounce to her gown;' a gentleman at Bath who, she really believes, is very harmless, 'people do not seem afraid of him here, and he gets groundsel for his birds, and all that;' a very young man, just entered Oxford, who 'wears spectacles, and has

heard that *Evelina* was written by Dr. Johnson'—trifles which show how keenly open her eyes were to observe those whom she met.

A second misconception, which we believe to have been somewhat widely spread, concerns Miss Austen's capability of feeling deep emotion, and forming strong attachments. We believe her to have been fully capable; but she belonged to a family who kept their strongest feelings to themselves; and we must remember, first, that such feelings would be far more likely to be expressed in intimate conversation with the dear sister with whom she habitually lived, than to be committed to writing during their comparatively rare absences from each other; and, secondly, that Cassandra burnt many of Jane's letters, and especially selected those for burning which she considered the most interesting. The tradition which has been handed down by Cassandra and which is very cautiously mentioned in the *Memoir*, is that the Austens, during a tour in Devonshire, made the acquaintance of a young clergyman who was more than usually attractive; that he and Jane became much attached to each other, and that he was to join them again, either later on their journey, or afterwards at their home. Instead of the lover in person came the news of his sudden death. Some years after Jane's death Cassandra took a good deal of trouble to find out and see again the brother of this young clergyman; and on one occasion, having been in the company of an unusually attractive young man, and having shown much greater interest in him than was common with her, she discussed him afterwards with a niece, and explained that he reminded her strongly of a friend whom she had once met in Devonshire. The terms in which she spoke of the acquaintance between this friend and Jane left little doubt in the mind of the niece that they had loved each other. If so, the similarity of their fates must have endeared the two sisters still more closely to each other; and, as Jane's feelings were very retentive, it is not impossible that this sorrow may have contributed to make it difficult for her to settle seriously to original composition for some years to come. Almost the last thing she

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wrote was the touching conversation in which Anne Elliot claims for her sex the privilege of loving longest 'when existence or when hope is gone.'

Another point on which we believe that some misapprehension exists is the relative chronological position of *Sense and Sensibility* and *Pride and Prejudice*; but we have to admit that our view of the matter depends on inference, and not on direct evidence. Taking the two books as we have them, it seems almost impossible to believe that *Sense and Sensibility* represents as mature a growth in the author's literary capacity and experience as *Pride and Prejudice*. The facts are as follows: before November 1797, 'something similar in story and character' to the former of these two books had been written, in the form of letters, and under the title of *Elinor and Marianne*. Between October 1796 and August 1797, a three-volume novel answering to *Pride and Prejudice*, but called *First Impressions*, was written. This was immediately followed by the composition of a work based on *Elinor and Marianne*, and called *Sense and Sensibility*. On the author's resumption of literary activity in her home at Chawton, after a long silence, the first year 'seems to have been devoted to revising and preparing for the press 'these two works; and this period may be roughly taken to correspond to the year 1810. But whereas *Sense and Sensibility* was published in the summer of 1811, the other book did not appear until the beginning of 1813. The general idea of the biographers has been that the two works represent the same stage in the author's career, and were equally near to being ready for the press when she took them up again at Chawton. Mr. Oscar Fay Adams, her American biographer, goes even further than this, and believes that during this year she had been recasting *Elinor and Marianne*, which now received its final title, and also revising *Pride and Prejudice*. For this version of the facts we believe that there is absolutely no evidence, and if it were the true state of the case, why should the former novel have been published a year and a half before the latter? Mr. Goldwin Smith suggests that Miss Austen may have thought it the better work of the two, and justly adds that,

if so, she was an instance of the errors to which authors are liable in estimating their own works.

But this idea runs counter to all the evidence we possess. There are plenty of indications that the author set much the greater store by *Pride and Prejudice*. This is her 'own darling child,' which she receives from London. It is Elizabeth of whom she confesses that she thinks her 'as delightful a creature as ever appeared in print'; it is Mrs. Bingley and Mrs. Darcy whom she hopes to see in the exhibitions; she is interested in relative preferences for this work and *Mansfield Park*; and when she writes to the egregious Mr. Clarke about the dedication of *Emma*, it is *Pride and Prejudice* and *Mansfield Park* with which she fears that her later work may be unfavourably compared. Our own belief, therefore, is that the *Sense and Sensibility* of 1798 was much nearer to the published work than the *First Impressions* of 1797, and that the latter book was altered, pruned, and compressed ('lop't and crop't' the author calls the operation) during 1810 and 1811, before it became the masterpiece which has delighted successive generations. There is abundance of humour in the sister novel, and many of the other characteristic merits of Jane Austen's workmanship are to be found there; but it is wanting in the perfect finish and balance of *Pride and Prejudice*—every part working to a predestined end; every event happening just when it should; every character delighting us as a separate study, and at the same time proving itself to be necessary for the development of the plot.

One interesting chapter of Mr. Austen Leigh's *Memoir* contains a *Catena* of authorities—a list of the great men who have praised Jane Austen. This shows how far we have travelled since 1870. It was natural then to quote such evidence; now it seems quite unnecessary. It would be very easy to prolong the list indefinitely. Tennyson, at Lyme, rejecting the landing of the Duke of Monmouth, and asking for the place where Louisa Musgrove fell; Darwin having the novels read and re-read to him, 'until they could be read no longer'; Howells, critical of most other English novelists, singling out Miss Austen for unstinted praise—these are some of the many testimonies that might be quoted. But there is no need to enlarge upon this.

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Another instance of the growth of our author's fame during the last twenty years is furnished by the next book on our list, that of Miss Sarah Tytler. It is a pleasant, appreciative book, though the *Life* does little more than repeat in other words something of what the *Memoir* had said, and though she accentuates and dwells on the supposed 'clannishness' of the novelist, even attributing to her 'a certain refined churlishness.' But Miss Tytler seems to have thought it necessary to introduce the novels to an ignorant generation by adding a *résumé* of each of them; though why she devotes seventy pages to *Northanger Abbey* and only five to *Mansfield Park* we cannot say. It is this process which at the beginning of the twentieth century seems so superfluous. There are plenty of people now ready to read Jane Austen, and those who do not care to do so would hardly be conciliated by these epitomes. For ourselves we confess that, though we have never found the novels too long, the short accounts of them seem rather tedious. It has before now been objected to an abbreviator that, in endeavouring to cut his author short, he 'cut him long': this is the effect produced by these abstracts. But they are done with an excellent intention, and may perhaps have served a useful purpose.

In confessing our own distaste for these short accounts we are in agreement with Lord Brabourne, who expresses a similar opinion in his introductory chapters to the *Letters*. This series of letters from Jane to Cassandra had been bequeathed by the latter to Lord Brabourne's mother, Lady Knatchbull, the Fanny Knight constantly mentioned in them, Jane's eldest niece. After her death, in December 1882, her son published them, with introductory chapters and explanatory notes; and he added to them (1) a set of letters written to Fanny Knight on an attachment which did *not* end in an engagement; (2) a set of letters written to Anna Austen (Mrs. B. Lefroy) on a novel which the latter was writing;¹ and (3) two most pathetic letters from Cassandra to her niece Fanny, just after Jane's death. We need hardly

¹ These letters were given to Lord Brabourne for publication by Mrs. Lefroy's daughter.

say that these letters are invaluable to the biographer, and that access to them would have lightened Mr. Austen Leigh's original task materially.

As for Lord Brabourne's own share in the production, we are grateful for what he has given us, and recognize his zeal and his knowledge. His explanatory notes, however, are unequal. He shares that peculiarity of most 'men of Kent,' which leads them to consider their own affairs and their own families of far greater importance than those of neighbouring counties. If an affair or a connexion of any complexity is mentioned which concerns Hampshire he is apt to dismiss it as 'having nothing to do with Jane Austen,' while similar incidents or neighbours, in Kent, which have still less to do with her, are dwelt upon with evident zest. He has much to say about the novels, which he knows well and judges with the practised eye of a novel reader; but there is not much original thought in his criticisms. It is not, for instance, making a very profound remark to say that the women are better described than the men, in books written by a woman. It does not cover the whole field, and is not entirely true without qualification. Jane Austen's books are always written from the point of view of the heroine. This is true, we think, of all the heroines, but especially so of Elizabeth Bennet. The male characters are men as they present themselves to woman's view, and are therefore to the female characters what sketches are to finished portraits. There is hardly an instance in her books of two men talking together when no woman is by. But these severe limitations seem to make it all the more wonderful that there is so much variety among the heroes. They are none of them too good to be human. Lord Brabourne, indeed, objects to Mr. Knightley as too respectable, too old, and too harsh in his judgments. But Mr. Knightley's harsh judgment of Frank Churchill arose to a great extent from jealousy, and it is just this jealousy which helps to make him human and lovable. Apart from this very human imperfection he shows good sense, tact, and unostentatious kindness, and wins our confidence throughout.

Another strange judgment on Miss Austen's heroes has

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been passed by Mr. Goldwin Smith, whose *Life* appeared in 1890. He says that 'we cannot help seeing the likeness between Henry Tilney and Edmund Bertram'! This is going a long way from Macaulay's remark on the four clergymen in the novels; and we should have thought that these two, at all events, were safe from being confused with each other. There is hardly a speech made by either which could have been appropriately spoken by the other. The humour which appears in almost everything that Tilney says is wholly wanting in Bertram; the grave and anxious carefulness of the latter never appear in the former. If Henry Tilney ever had to educate Catherine, as Edmund educated Fanny (and we fancy he *had* a great deal to teach her after their marriage), we feel sure that he did so by good-humoured railery rather than by serious advice.

Mr. Goldwin Smith is sure to say a great deal that is interesting, and to say it well. His short *Life* is, however, a good deal taken up with an account of each novel, much less diffuse than Miss Tytler's, but still, we think, unnecessary. This part of his book includes some very acute remarks. We would instance his notice of a subtle trait in Miss Austen's writing—the way in which she produces a family resemblance in characters which are nevertheless kept quite distinct. Mr. Woodhouse and his daughter Isabella, and the two Mrs. Knightleys, are the examples which he gives; and he suggests that Miss Darcy's shyness perhaps shows that some of the so-called pride of her brother proceeded from the same source. But we doubt whether Mr. Goldwin Smith is really a convinced Austenite. Certainly his panegyric is couched in very sober terms; and it seems as if his politics interfered with whole-hearted admiration of an author who described a class with which he was entirely out of sympathy. 'Few sets of people, perhaps,' he says, 'ever did less for humanity or exercised less influence on its progress than the denizens of Mansfield Park and Pemberley, Longbourn and Hartfield in Jane Austen's day.' In other words, they belonged to the old squirearchy of England, whom a writer of a different school would describe as the backbone of the country. Elizabeth Bennet, when she saw Pemberley, was impressed with the

importance of the existence of a landed proprietor who did his duty, and we think she was right. We are sure that the lives of Darcy and Knightley, after we lose sight of them, conferred great benefits on those around them.

Small inaccuracies must creep into any book, and Mr. Goldwin Smith's is not free from them. We do not know why he imagined that Chawton House belonged to Lord Brabourne, instead of descending, as it has done, from father to son and grandson, in the Knight family. And it is rather a shock to a constant Austen reader to come across such names as 'Philip Darcy,' 'Maria Dashwood,' and 'Jack Thorpe.'

It may seem ungracious to continue the pursuit of these small mistakes into Mrs. Charles Malden's pleasantly written and enthusiastic book, which was published in 1889; but we must allow ourselves to observe that Chawton Cottage has not been pulled down, that Cassandra and Jane were older than their brother Charles, and that *Mansfield Park* was not published after the author's death. Mrs. Malden's account of Jane Austen's life is, of course, based on the *Memoir* and the *Letters*, and does not call for much remark. She, like Miss Tytler and Mr. Goldwin Smith, devotes a great deal of space to an abstract of the novels. So far as this is an analysis, it is well done and interesting; but too much of it consists in lengthy quotations. She seems to have discerned that in *Sense and Sensibility* we have what is essentially the 'first of Jane Austen's revised and finished works.'

Jane Austen has become a classic in America as well as in England; and the very appreciative and intelligent *Story of Jane Austen's Life* by Oscar Fay Adams has no doubt contributed to place her more vividly before the public on the other side of the Atlantic. He wrote purposely to describe the woman rather than the novelist; and he has helped materially to dispel the false idea of her primness, demureness and exclusiveness, and to make us realize her winning and charming personality as it really was. He took the trouble to visit the places most closely connected with her career, and began his book under the shadow of Winchester

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Cathedral. But even a careful investigator leaves work for those who come after him. Mr. Adams did not, for instance, succeed in discovering the inscription to Jane's father in Walcot Church; he goes so far as to say that it is certain that the church 'contains no other memorial of him than a brief entry in the burial register.' The inscription is on a stone slab let into the floor of the crypt underneath the church. More important, as affecting the characteristic traits of the author, is his mistake in supposing (with Lord Brabourne) that she did not feel deeply the removal from her first home. Mr. Austen Leigh, a much better authority, had said that Jane was exceedingly unhappy when she first heard of her father's resolution to quit Steventon. This is confirmed by a family tradition mentioned in Miss Hill's book. It seems that Jane had been away from home when the decision was taken by her parents, and had heard, therefore, but little about it. One afternoon as she and Cassandra returned from a walk they were met by their mother, who said abruptly, 'Well, girls, it is all settled; we have decided to leave Steventon,' whereupon Jane fainted away. It is true that she afterwards spoke cheerfully of the change, and wrote 'We have lived long enough in this neighbourhood.' But this is just what we should have expected. Her strong feelings were shown by the shock which the first tidings administered to her; her good sense and unselfishness by her forcing herself to be reconciled to her parents' decision.

Mr. Adams is occasionally puzzled by the references in the *Letters*, and not unnaturally. On one occasion when Jane had gone to London in a crowded coach, she says, 'it put me in mind of my own coach between Edinburgh and Stirling.' It is impossible now to trace the allusion in this sentence; perhaps it refers to some nonsensical story written (or spoken) to amuse her nephews and nieces. Mr. Adams infers that she had travelled in Scotland; but we believe it to be certain that she never went further north than Warwickshire, or possibly Shropshire. Again, in a letter dated March 13, 1816, she says, 'Miss Catherine is put upon the shelf for the present, and I do not know that she will ever come out.' This must refer to *Northanger Abbey*, which had then been

re-purchased from the unenterprising Bath publisher. We have seen already that the author sometimes altered the names of her books. Mr. Adams likes to see in the sentence an allusion to another unknown story; but we are afraid there is no evidence for the existence of any such work.

We are unable to say how many complete editions of the novels have appeared during the last twenty or thirty years, but some recognition is due to the illustrated volumes which have from time to time been issued. If we neglect the frontispieces of Bentley's older edition (and a more negligible quantity can hardly be imagined) these are the first attempts to give the characters a concrete shape. Most readers had already given them in imagination a more or less definite form, and many must have felt a reluctance to see any other presentment of their old friends. But there is a great deal of life and grace in these illustrations (particularly in the coloured prints attached to J. M. Dent and Co.'s edition of 1898), and the costumes have been carefully studied; though sometimes the women and men look rather as if they were dressed up for acting in their poke-bonnets, short waists, high stocks, and pantaloons. We must take exception also to some pictures which show an imperfect acquaintance on the part of the artists with the letterpress of the books. We are sure that Mrs. Bennet was not an ugly frump, for her husband (no lenient judge) tells her she is as 'handsome as any of her daughters'; and Sir Thomas Bertram, had he been the easy-going stoutish gentleman depicted by Mr. Brock, could hardly have walked further into the room speaking 'with unanswerable dignity.' Neither should Elizabeth Bennet wear a riding-habit, as she was 'no horsewoman'; and if Frank Churchill had been attired in a greatcoat, and Jane Fairfax in a long cloak and muff when they quarrelled on a specially hot day of July, the exclamation of the former, 'Madness in such weather,' would have been justified in a different sense.

Another stage in the development of the *cult* of Jane Austen is marked by the appearance of Miss Hill's charming book, published in 1902. Miss Constance Hill was already favourably known by her *Life of her father* and other writings; and her sister, Miss Ellen Hill, is an accomplished

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artist. These two ladies spared no pains to make themselves acquainted with every place which the author had visited; and while one probed the sources of information on the spot, the other made delightful sketches, which are reproduced in their book. An excellent example of the thoroughness of their research, and also of the vivid reality which Miss Austen has been able to impart to her creations is furnished by the Miss Hills' visit to Lyme. They identified satisfactorily, not only the house where the Austens lodged, but also the Harvilles' house in *Persuasion*, where they themselves stayed. They had already been struck by the resemblance, when they found that the landlady looked upon the whole matter as settled beyond a doubt. 'She talked of the Harvilles, the Musgroves, Anne Elliot, and Captain Wentworth as if they had been in her house but the season before, and, pointing to a bedroom on the first floor, exclaimed eagerly, "That is the room where the poor young lady was nursed." And, again, showing us a cheerful room on the top story overlooking the sea and the fishing-boats, she remarked, "That was the children's nursery."' ¹

The Miss Hills had the advantage of having access to some of the family traditions, documents, and pictures which had not before been published or reproduced; and this fact raises their volume to the rank of a third source of information, which may be used by any future biographer by the side of the *Memoir* and the *Letters*.

Two final touches were required to assure the position of our author on the niche which she is permanently to occupy, and these have both been given to the last generation of readers. She required a textual critic and a depreciating critic, and she has had both. For the former, she has attracted the attention of an eminent Cambridge scholar, who had already laid rather violent hands on Horace. Dr. Verrall some years ago contributed to the *Cambridge Review* some half-humorous emendations of the novels, more characterised perhaps by ingenuity than by soundness. One of his emendations is so peculiar as to be worth mentioning. In *Mansfield Park*, when William Price comes on shore, we are

¹ This house is now (April 1903) dismantled and 'To be let.'

told that 'as his parents, from living on the spot, must already have seen him, and be seeing him perhaps daily, his direct holidays might with justice be instantly given' to his sister. 'Direct holidays' is not perhaps a perfectly correct expression, but it is at all events intelligible. It does not, however, satisfy Dr. Verrall, who argues at some length that the novelist must really have written 'derelict holidays.' She was well acquainted, he urges, with naval phrases. In naval courts property for which no owner can be found, 'derelict' property, is at once adjudged ('instantly given') to the person who can claim it on the most valid grounds! Do we not feel that an emendation like this imparts a lustre to the author on whom it is made, and removes her far back from the smaller fry of modern writers?

The most recent editors of the novels have approached the question of emending, or restoring, the text in a more serious spirit, and have done what they could, by collation of the first edition, to make it correct. But the author herself states that the earliest edition (in the case of *Pride and Prejudice*) contained various misprints; and it is rather a curious fact that one passage in this novel, which is correctly printed in both the first and the second editions, is wrong in every subsequent edition which we have seen. When Mrs. Bennet has been using her fertile imagination to place the Wickhams in every house in the neighbourhood, her husband gives her to understand that she may do as she likes about that, but into one house they shall not come; 'I will not encourage the impudence of either by receiving them at Longbourn.' So it stands in the early editions; but 'impudence' has somehow got transformed into 'imprudence' in the later issues; and we think that all Mr. Bennet's friends will agree that this change deprives the sentence of the peculiar flavour which he hardly ever failed in imparting to his speeches.

The depreciating critic has quite recently appeared in the person of Mr. Walter Frewen Lord, who has contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* critical or patronizing articles on Jane Austen and other well-known English writers of fiction. His critique on our author is not really severe or ill-natured;

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neither do we think that it is very valuable or very true. Macaulay, strictly limiting himself to the power of creating characters, gives his opinion that in this particular Jane Austen is among those who have come nearest to Shakespeare, although Shakespeare has 'neither equal nor second.' Mr. Lord talks as though Macaulay had described her generally as 'Shakespearean'; and as though no author could be called so, in any particular, who was 'a stranger to the Alps and torrents of Shakespearean English,' and who did not stuff his stories as full of incidents as the fifth act of *Hamlet*. In other words, no one can be a great delineator of character who does not write of highly-coloured incidents in impassioned poetry. Another remark which the critic makes is that her girls in childhood and youth 'thought and talked all day long of nothing but men.' Now it is a universal convention, from which our author does not depart, that love, courtship, and marriage should form the staple of every novel; and no one was more rigid than she in excluding every detail which did not bear on her plot. Indeed, if she ever departs from this salutary rule, Mr. Lord is down upon her at once: e.g. as to Mrs. Bates's spectacles, and the good appetites of the little Knightleys. He must therefore expect to hear a good deal about the mutual attachment of hero and heroine; but in spite of this, how essentially unjust is the criticism, so far as it concerns any character with whom the author intended the readers to be in sympathy! We are sure that we know these 'girls' intimately; we feel that we can go beyond the speeches and scenes given us in the books and follow them into other relations of life; and if we think of their characters as complete wholes, how absurd it seems to suppose that young women like Fanny Price and Anne Elliot were always thinking and talking of men! Indeed, in the case of Fanny Price, the difficulty lies in imagining that she ever thought enough of men to be in love with one of them. One more criticism of Mr. Lord's shall be given. He complains that her world was geographically very small, that almost everything but England is ignored altogether, and that her characters are 'children of seventeen who have never been outside the village.' In a similar spirit Mr. Darcy objected

to Elizabeth's statement that she was a student of character ; he considered that she could not find material enough in a small country society. 'But people themselves alter so much,' she answered. That is to say, the complexity of human nature is such that patient observation of a limited circle will afford sufficient variety for the training of the novelist. Whether this be so or not, in any case the choice was deliberate on Jane Austen's part. She left among her papers an amusing description of a novel to be written in accordance with all the advice she received from different friends. This imaginary tale was to contain a 'striking variety of adventures.' The heroine and her father are driven about the world by the arts of the anti-hero. 'No sooner settled in one country of Europe than they are compelled to quit it and retire to another. At last, hunted out of civilized society, denied the poor shelter of the humblest cottage, they are compelled to retreat into Kamtschatka,' where the father expires. The heroine 'crawls back towards her former country, having at least twenty escapes of falling into the hands of anti-hero ; and at last, in the very nick of time, turning a corner to avoid him, runs into the arms of the hero himself,' &c. If Miss Austen had only written her books on this principle she might, it seems, have added the suffrage of Mr. Lord to the numerous votes already cast in her favour by other distinguished men.

This account of the growth of Jane Austen's fame during the last thirty years is necessarily incomplete, but we believe it to be in the main correct. The difference seems to be that whereas in 1870 the love for her writings was the possession of a select but limited circle, in 1900 every man of intellectual pretensions either likes to read her books or thinks it necessary to apologize if he does not. If we try to assign a reason for her supremacy within the limits of the particular province of fiction which she occupies, we do not know that we can get any further than to describe it as a case of exact adaptation of means to an end. She was just suited by genius, character, and position to do the work she has done. She was not deeply learned : there was no reason why she

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should be. She was not even highly educated, according to the modern standard, though she probably knew a good deal more than most of her contemporaries of the same class, for both her father and her eldest brother, who directed her studies and formed her taste, were good classical scholars, and possessed keen literary instincts. At all events she had had training enough to acquire the admirable style of writing English which was not the least of her charms.

Miss Austen possessed in the highest degree that creative imagination which is the first requisite for those authors who wish to endow fictitious characters with the semblance of real life, and also two other gifts almost equally essential for her purpose, which we will call humour and sense. Humour, however, must be taken to include wit; and sense must be enlarged beyond its general use to embrace discrimination, tact, refinement, and balance. Her gift of humour was so subtle, and so sure, that it served her both positively and negatively; it enabled her to be amusing whenever she wished to be so, and at the same time prevented her from ever being ridiculous. Miss Austen's humour never falls flat; and though we often laugh *with* her we are never tempted to laugh *at* her. This, we think, is not by any means always the case with great humourists.

Her position, again, was favourable to her achieving what she did; raised above want, she was not spoiled by luxury; and she remained (by destiny at first, and afterwards by choice) a single woman, untrammelled by the cares of a family. Her character completed her qualifications for the task; she had healthiness of mind which prevented the intrusion of anything morbid or ill-balanced, conscientiousness to make her give the public only of her best, and patience to polish and trim her work until it really was her best. Her brother tells us that some of her published works had been 'the gradual performances of her previous life,' and that 'an invincible distrust of her own judgment' induced her to withhold her works from the public until a long time had elapsed after their composition. He adds that it was with extreme difficulty that her friends 'could prevail on her to publish her first work,' and that she was so diffident as to its

probable reception 'that she actually made a reserve from her very moderate income to meet the expected loss.' These remarks are a good illustration of her conscientious care and humility of mind, and at the same time furnish possible reasons, in addition to the reason we have already mentioned, for her long years of silence; for one or two early disappointments in authorship would be likely to check a diffident writer, and a probable loss of money must restrain a poor one. Though she never wrote to gain money, she was obliged to be careful not to lose it.

Jane Austen was a sincerely religious woman, but she certainly had a distaste for religious romances. One of the rigid rules which, consciously or unconsciously, she imposed upon herself seems to have been a determination that her novels were not to be 'improving'; that the good they were to do to the reader was to be done by stealth; and that by following the leading of a pure and healthy art she would be sure to give enough encouragement to virtue. No jests, however, about religion were to be tolerated for a moment. She often introduces clergymen, and does not spare their peculiarities or their social defects; but she never invades the spiritual side of their character. Elizabeth Bennet, for instance, spends a good many Sundays at Hunsford. We know that she went to church, and we know that she must have sat under Mr. Collins. What a temptation, one would think, to introduce something—if it were but a few epigrammatic sentences—about his pompous platitudes! but they are passed over in absolute silence. So acute an observer as Emma must have found something to criticize in the faultless folds of Mr. Elton's surplice and the careful periods of his sermons; but we know nothing, except that Harriet thought them beautiful, and that Miss Nash had kept all his texts. And there is no exception to this reticence in any of the novels.

The writer who avoids violent catastrophes and forced situations is not absolved from the necessity of constructing a plot, although the absence of these helps may make the task more difficult. The plots of Jane Austen's novels, within these limits, are admirable when she is at her best. But in considering the series of novels from this point of view some

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discrimination is necessary. If our view is correct, *Sense and Sensibility* may be considered as an immature work ; and *Northanger Abbey* must belong to the same category. *Persuasion*, on the other hand, was written in the maturity of the author's powers, and contains some of her very best writing ; but we question whether we have it exactly in the shape it would possess had she lived to publish it. In March 1816 she tells her niece Fanny that she has 'a something ready for publication which may, perhaps, appear about a twelvemonth hence. It is short—about the length of *Catherine*.' This must refer to *Persuasion*, but we know from the *Memoir* that it was not brought to an end until July 1816, and that one of the last chapters was then cancelled and two others substituted in August. The expression 'ready for publication' must therefore have been used loosely in the previous March ; and when we know how she worked at her 'little bit (two inches wide) of ivory,' we cannot help thinking that she might have looked forward to going through the story again and perfecting it by the alteration of one or two comparatively dull chapters in the second volume. In any case this book and *Northanger Abbey* are too short for intricate plots ; and her genius in this direction must be judged by *Pride and Prejudice*, *Mansfield Park*, and *Emma*. They are all three admirable, but unlike each other. Speaking of the three books generally, one might fairly say that the first extorts admiration from every reader ; that one must be an Austenite to appreciate the second and third ; but that a thorough-going Austenite might not improbably prefer one of them to the first. Speaking of the plots especially, we notice that *Emma* is the most extreme instance of our author's love for working on 'three or four families in a country village.' The heroine (whose society the reader constantly enjoys) never leaves her home for one night during the progress of the story—from October to August—hardly even goes for a long drive ; there is no catastrophe, and no villain ; but the story never halts, and the predestined termination is ingeniously concealed. Let anyone who knows *Emma* well read it again from this point of view, and he will see how Emma's mistake about Mr. Elton's intentions is rendered

plausible; how the secret engagement of Frank Churchill and Jane Fairfax could fairly have escaped discovery; and how naturally the love between Emma and Mr. Knightley could grow, without either of them knowing what they were doing. There is more movement and variety of scene in *Pride and Prejudice*. Here the supreme merit of the plot is that the events happen just at the right time. The height of Elizabeth's 'prejudice' is reached half way through the book, in the inimitable scene where Darcy first proposes to her; it gradually fades away and changes first into regard and then into love, through another volume. In *Mansfield Park* the problem was, how to prevent the interest from sinking after the catastrophe of the interrupted theatricals at the end of the first volume. This is artfully effected by the love of Crawford for Fanny; which also serves the purpose of increasing the importance of the heroine after her somewhat Cinderella-like position in the earlier part of the story. The third volume approaches nearer to sensational tragedy than anything else in the novels, but the author is merciful to our feelings in the relation of this catastrophe. It happens off the stage, which for the time being has been removed to Portsmouth, and is introduced in an admirable scene, in which the profound sadness of Fanny is lightened to the reader by the exquisitely natural remarks of Mr. and Mrs. Price.

It is evident that the author became possessed and carried away by each story as it shaped itself in her mind, till it seemed to her inevitable. She says to her niece Fanny, of Anne Elliot, 'You may perhaps like the heroine, as she is almost too good for me.' It did not seem to occur to her that she could have altered this; the character of Anne Elliot had assumed a particular shape in her mind, and that shape it must retain, although (as she says in the same letter) 'Pictures of perfection, as you know, make me sick and wicked.' We can imagine that great writers have often felt this sense of irresistibility in their characters, almost as if they were imposed upon them by some force outside themselves; and it is perhaps the definiteness thus imparted to their features which renders them so lifelike and real to the

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reader. And what a gallery of portraits do the six novels give us! The principal effort is of course made in the delineation of the heroines, so we need not be surprised at the variety of these; and we have already mentioned the heroes. But the bores are not like each other, neither are the vulgar women. It is not always easy to say in what the *differentia* of Mrs. Jennings, or Mrs. Bennet, or Mrs. Elton consists; but each is herself and no one else. We should not be surprised to meet any one of the three to-morrow; and, after a few sentences, we should not doubt which it was whose society we were enjoying. We say advisedly 'enjoying'; for vivid and humorous portraiture is a wonderful solvent of vulgarity and of tediousness. As for the latter, we are sure that most of us have a lurking tenderness for Miss Bates, and are sorry that Emma was ever rude to her; and we are not insensible to the steady respectability of Mr. Collins. Nay, we cannot be wholly out of charity with Aunt Norris herself, when we think how much she has amused us. And the mint which coined this precious metal had still other gold to work into shape; for Mary Musgrove is as fresh and individual as any of her predecessors. Whatever the secret of this power may have been, there was at all events no trick in it; none of the characters have any catchwords or mannerisms, and all speak ordinary English. One reason, however, for their intense reality is to be found in the fact that they build themselves up by their own sayings and doings, with hardly any comment from the author. Many other writers (including some of the most distinguished) are apt to analyse as they go along, and thus prevent their imaginary creations from ever assuming the semblance of flesh and blood. In Miss Austen's case the book contains, one may say, synthesis only, and the analytic process is performed by the reader.

Jane Austen threw one part of herself, with all the vigour which she could command, into her writings; but she evidently had a clear perception of the proper limits, as she thought them, of the sort of romance which she was producing, and would not exceed those limits. She had, for instance, such a love for natural scenery that she would sometimes say that she thought it must form one of the

delights of heaven ; but she seldom allowed herself to introduce descriptions of it into her books, although one or two pictures, such as the summer view from the terrace at Donwell, the autumn in the hedgerows of Uppercross, the dancing sea at Portsmouth, and the varied beauties of Lyme, show what she might have made of it. Again, she had, as we believe, an emotional nature, though it was controlled by strong sense, and concealed by the family reserve. But if any readers wish for the luxury of weeping over a novel, let them not come here for the purpose. There is plenty of human interest ; but there is little real sadness, and no despair. No one dies in any of the stories. The sum total of bodily discomforts in the six novels amounts to two severe illnesses and one accident ; and while we feel sincere sympathy for the mental distresses and perplexities of the heroines (indeed, in the case of Fanny's neglected insignificance and Anne Elliot's apparently hopeless love, they rise to real pathos), yet we are, after all, confident of a happy end to them. Indeed, we should be equally confident of such an issue, could we by any blessed chance have another novel of Jane Austen's to read for the first time. The mention of the pathetic side of *Persuasion* suggests the possibility that, had life and health been preserved, we might have had romances of a somewhat different nature from the same pen. We do not think that the probability of this is diminished by the fact that there are no qualities of this sort to be noticed in the few chapters of the story she began half a year before her death. She must have felt then how improbable it was that she could write many more chapters, and the sadness of real life must have prevented any desire for creating fictitious pathos. All that was left to her was, to solace her long hours, and perhaps comfort her friends, by employing herself in her old way. But whatever she might have achieved had she lived longer, as the case stands our author can lay but little claim to the credit of provoking the tears, or depressing the spirits, of her readers ; she must be content with what she herself would have valued far more—the glory of having soothed the sick beds and cheered the solitary old age of multitudes of sufferers whom she never knew or saw. We

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once knew a lady of whom her family said that they believed it was a real solace to her in the troubles of life to find an appropriate quotation from Jane Austen.

It was not until the second edition of the *Memoir* was published that Mr. Austen Leigh, in response to what seemed to be the desire of the public, added the unpublished tales *Lady Susan* and *The Watsons*. The latter fragment has had adequate recognition from the critics; but *Lady Susan* has, we think, received rather hard measure. We must consider it as what we believe it to have been, the work of a girl who had the instinct of composition strong within her, and who was trying her wings in various directions. She certainly did well to abandon the epistolary style, and not to draw again characters evolved out of her consciousness, or gathered from books, as *Lady Susan's* must have been; for a further progress in the same style would have led her into a blind alley. But it is a remarkable piece of work for a girl of the age we imagine her to have then reached; the English, except for one or two slips, is good, and there is a great deal of life and ingenuity in the principal character. Perhaps, however, its principal value lies in the elucidation of the author's character which it affords us. It is equally remarkable that an inexperienced girl should have had independence and boldness enough to draw at full length a woman of the type of *Lady Susan*, and that, after she had done so, the purity of her imagination and the delicacy of her taste should have prevented her from ever repeating the experiment.

It is indeed a pleasure to contemplate the character of Jane Austen, and to think that a writer who has given us so much literary gratification should also have been so admirable in every relation of life. Her perfect balance and good sense did not diminish her liveliness. Her intellectual qualities did not prevent her from enjoying a dance, or attending to the most domestic duties. Her genius (of which she must have been conscious) was compatible with a belief that *Cassandra* was wiser and better than herself. Her keen and humorous observation of the frailties of mankind did not diminish her indulgence towards the faults of her neighbours. Her growing fame did not make her the less accessible and

charming to her young nieces, who could consult her and obtain a willing listener in any difficulty, from a doubtful love-affair down to the working of a sampler. 'All who love, and that is all who know her,' writes her brother of her. That love has now been shared by several generations of men and women who never saw her, and her personal worth and attractiveness will ever remain a source of great satisfaction to all readers except those (if any such there still are) who think that genius must always coexist with an ill-regulated mind.

ART. VIII.—PRAYERS FOR THE DEAD.

1. *The Intermediate State and Prayers for the Dead Examined in the Light of Scripture, and of Ancient Jewish and Christian Literature.* By the Rev. CHARLES H. H. WRIGHT, D.D. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1900.)
2. *Eternal Hope: Five Sermons preached in Westminster Abbey, November and December, 1877.* By the Rev. FREDERIC W. FARRAR, D.D., F.R.S., Dean of Canterbury. With a new Preface. Eighteenth Impression. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901.)
3. *After Death: An Examination of Primitive Times respecting the State of the Faithful Dead, and their Relationship to the Living.* By HERBERT MORTIMER LUCKOCK, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. Thirteenth Impression. (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1902.)
4. *The Times*, 1903.
5. *The Guardian*, 1903.

And other Books.

No apology is needed for an article on the subject of prayers for the dead at the present time. This subject, always interesting and always of great practical importance, has been brought into fresh prominence by recent events in the Church of England.

It is not our intention to devote much space to the pre-

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Christian Jewish practice of praying for the departed. This part of the subject has often been discussed ; and, in fact, there is but little to say about it of any certainty. The words in Psalm cxxxii. 1 which Dr. Driver translates 'Jehovah, remember unto David all his afflictedness,' may possibly be a prayer for the departed soul of David ; it is perhaps more likely that they are a commemoration of the dead saint made before God by the Psalmist as an appeal on behalf of the living. The passage in 2 Maccabees xii. 38-45 shows that the writer of this book, an orthodox Jew of the first or second century before the Christian era, did not consider it 'superfluous and idle to pray for the dead,' but regarded the 'thought' of doing so as 'holy and godly.' The prayer known as the 'Kaddish,' which forms part of the synagogue morning service, may be older than the time of our Lord, and may have been used by the Jews then, as it is now, in supplication for the departed.

Nor do we intend to treat at any length the teaching on the subject afforded by the New Testament. That, again, has often been very fully discussed. It is likely, though it cannot be proved, that Onesimus was dead when St. Paul wrote down the wish or prayer, 'The Lord grant unto him to find mercy of the Lord in that day.'¹ The preaching of Christ 'unto the spirits in prison'² implies that the departed are capable of receiving benefit. If it is the case that prayer for the dead was usual among the Jews, the absence of any condemnation of the practice in the recorded teaching of our Lord must be given its due weight. The facts of the continuity of life and of the oneness of all Christians, departed as well as living, in the mystical Body of Christ, of which the New Testament is full, naturally suggest the possibility and usefulness of prayer for those who indeed have passed out of sight but are, nevertheless, joined by the closest of all bonds to their brethren on earth.

Passing by these two departments of the subject, then our purpose is to illustrate the teaching and practice of the

¹ 2 Tim. i. 18.² 1 St. Peter iii. 18, 19.

early Church as to prayers for the dead, to refer briefly to what was said and done in later times, and to discuss the attitude of the Church of England in the matter.

Abercius was Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. The legendary Acts which record his life contain an epitaph said to have been inscribed by him upon his tomb before his death. The genuineness of the epitaph was maintained by Garrucci; and as early as 1875 Bishop Lightfoot wrote that 'as a whole it bears every mark of authenticity.'¹ In 1882 Professor Ramsay published a Christian inscription dated 216 A.D. which had been discovered at Hierapolis. This inscription was evidently based on the epitaph of Abercius, and, in Bishop Lightfoot's words, 'the genuineness therefore of the epitaph of Abercius was placed beyond a doubt.'² Subsequently a fragment of the epitaph itself was discovered by Professor Ramsay confirming the genuineness of the representation of it found in the legendary Acts; and the whole was restored by Bishop Lightfoot with the help of the text in the Life of Abercius, the fragments from his tomb, and the imitation which Professor Ramsay had discovered before. As so restored and translated by Bishop Lightfoot, the whole epitaph runs:

'The citizen of a notable city I made this tomb in my life-time; that in due season I might have here a resting-place for my body. Abercius by name, I am a disciple of the pure Shepherd, who feedeth His flocks of sheep on mountains and plains, who hath great eyes looking on all sides; for He taught me faithful writings. He also sent me to royal Rome to behold it and to see the golden-robed, golden-slippered queen. And there I saw a people bearing the splendid seal. And I saw the plain of Syria and all the cities, even Nisibis, crossing over the Euphrates. And everywhere I had associates. In company with Paul I followed, while everywhere faith led the way, and set before me for food the fish from the fountain, mighty and stainless (whom a pure virgin grasped), and gave this to friends to eat always, having good wine and giving the mixed cup with bread. These words I Abercius, standing by, ordered to be inscribed. In sooth I was in the course of my

¹ Lightfoot, *Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon*, p. 55.

² Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, II. i. 479; cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. 722.

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seventy-second year. Let every friend who observeth this pray for me. But no man shall place another tomb above mine. If otherwise, then he shall pay two thousand pieces of gold to the treasury of the Romans, and a thousand pieces of gold to my good fatherland Hierapolis.¹

Here, then, we have an instance of a Christian Bishop in the second century, probably in the third quarter of the century, taking pains to secure that after his death those who saw his tomb might pray for him.

In the third century the evidence for the use of prayers for the dead by Christians supplied by the writings of Tertullian and St. Cyprian is very clear and strong. In one place, when describing the life and worship of Christians, Tertullian says, 'We yearly offer the oblations for the departed on the anniversaries of their deaths.'² Elsewhere he includes in the duties of the Christian widow that 'she prays for her husband's soul, and meanwhile begs refreshment for him and share in the first resurrection, and she yearly offers sacrifice for him on the anniversary of the day on which he fell asleep.'³ He considers it one of the reasons why men and women should avoid second marriages that, if married a second time, there will be two wives or husbands for whom they must simultaneously pray; and thus addresses a husband:

'Neither can you hate your former wife, for whom you keep the affection that is even the most bound by religion, as of one who is now taken by God to Himself, for whose spirit you pray, for whom you yearly offer the oblations. Will you therefore stand in the presence of God with as many wives as in prayer you commemorate, and will you offer sacrifice for two wives, and will you those two commend to Him?'⁴

It is true that the treatises from which these passages are taken were written by Tertullian after he became a Montanist, and that in his statements about second marriages he is

¹ Lightfoot, *Op. cit.*, II. i. 480, 481; Ramsay, *loc. cit.*

² Tertullian, *De Cor. Mil.* 3. The original expression is curious and interesting: 'Oblationes pro defunctis, pro nataliciis annua die facimus.'

³ Idem, *De Monog.* 10.

⁴ Idem, *De Exhor. Cast.* 11.

writing from the Montanist standpoint ; but there is no trace that his references to prayers for the dead are distinctively Montanistic, and in the first of the passages which have been quoted he is evidently describing the ordinary practice of the Christian Church.

The references to prayers for the dead in the epistles of St. Cyprian are of great significance. He mentions the rule made by his predecessors in the episcopate that, if a Christian should appoint an ecclesiastic to any office of administration or guardianship, contrary to the law that the clergy should not be hindered in their proper work and life by such matters,

‘No oblation should be made on his behalf, nor should the sacrifice be offered for his repose. For he is not counted worthy to be mentioned at the altar in the prayer of the priests who has wished that the priests and ministers be called away from the altar ;’

and, in accordance with this rule, he proceeds to lay down,

‘And, therefore, since Victor has dared, in defiance of the decree lately passed by the bishops in the Council, to appoint Geminus Faustinus, a presbyter, as guardian, no oblation shall be offered among us for his repose, and no supplication shall be made on his behalf.’¹

In another epistle he directs his clergy to take note of the days of the deaths of those who suffer in the persecution so that they may be rightly commemorated among the martyrs, and mentions that, through the care of one of the Carthaginian Christians, he knows the days on which ‘our blessed brethren in prison pass to immortality by the departure of a glorious death’ so that he is able to ‘celebrate the oblations and the sacrifices in commemoration of them.’² Elsewhere, addressing the clergy and laity of his diocese, and again referring to the martyrs in the persecution, he says :

‘We always offer the sacrifices for them, as ye remember, whenever we celebrate the sufferings and days of the martyrs at the yearly commemorations of their anniversaries.’³

The *Canons of Hippolytus* are a Roman or Alexandrian document of the end of the second century or some part of

¹ St. Cyprian, *Ep.* i. 2.

² *Op. cit.* xii. 2.

³ *Op. cit.* xxxix. 3.

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the third century. They refer to the commemoration of the departed in connexion with the Eucharist. The words are :

'If a memorial is made for those who are departed, let them receive the mysteries before they sit down ; but not on the first day of the week. After the oblation let the bread of exorcism be distributed to them before they sit down.'¹

The importance of these regulations was pointed out by Dr. Headlam in the third of a series of articles on the *Canons of Hippolytus* which he wrote in the *Guardian* in 1896 :

'This canon,' he said, 'is very important, as it shows us that the memorial of the departed consisted not merely in a funeral banquet, as has sometimes been supposed, but in a memorial banquet preceded by the Eucharist, the exception on the first day of the week arising clearly from the fact that the Eucharist had already been celebrated. The funeral banquet in memory of the departed, whether at the time of death or on the anniversary of the death, was a custom taken over from heathen surroundings ; to this was added the definitely Christian ceremony of the Eucharist ; gradually the heathen element was allowed to fall into disuse, and the purely Christian portion of the commemoration survived.'²

The *Testament of our Lord* is a Syrian or Cilician document of somewhat doubtful date. Apparently originally written in Greek, the only copies of it at present known are Syriac, Ethiopic, and Arabic translations. It is perhaps most probable that Dr. Zahn and Dr. Cooper and Canon Maclean are right in regarding the date as about 350 A.D. This book contains prayers for the dead. In the offering of the Eucharist the words 'Remember those who have fallen asleep in the faith' occur.³ In the prayers appointed for the deacon it is said, 'For those who have fallen asleep from the Church let us beseech that the Lord may bestow upon them a place of rest.'⁴ Reference is also made to almsgiving in connexion with the departed. Part of the instruction about property is :

'If any one depart from the world, either a faithful man or a faithful woman, let them give their possessions to the Church, so that

¹ *Canons of Hippolytus*, 169, 170.

² *Guardian*, June 24, 1896, p. 991.

³ *Testament of the Lord*, i. 23.

⁴ *Op. cit.* i. 35.

the Church may provide for their children, and that from the things which they have the poor may be given rest, that God may give mercy to their children and rest to those who have left them behind.¹

The liturgical prayers of Serapion, Bishop of Thmuis, probably date from the middle of the fourth century. Serapion died about 365 A.D. In these, as in the *Testament of the Lord*, there are prayers for the dead. The intercession in the Eucharistic Anaphora contains the passage :

‘ We intercede also on behalf of all who have fallen asleep, of whom the memorial is made.

‘ After the recitation of the names.²

‘ Sanctify these souls ; for Thou knowest all. Sanctify all those souls which have fallen asleep in the Lord, and number them with all Thy holy powers, and give unto them a place and a mansion in Thy kingdom.’³

There is also a separate prayer said in connexion with the burial of the dead, apparently in the house of the departed person before the funeral procession. It is as follows :

‘ Prayer for one who is dead and is to be carried forth.

‘ God, who holdest the authority of life and death, God of the spirits and Master of all flesh, God, who killest and makest alive, who bringest down to the gates of Hades and bringest up, who createst the spirit of man in him and takest to Thyself the souls of the saints and givest them rest : Thou who dost alter and change and transform Thy creatures as is right and expedient, being Thyself alone incorruptible and unalterable and eternal : we beseech Thee for the repose and rest of this Thy servant (or, of this Thy handmaiden) : give rest to his soul, his spirit, in green places, in chambers of rest with Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all Thy saints, and raise up his body in the day which Thou hast ordained according to Thy promises which cannot lie, that Thou mayest render to it also that inheritance of which it is worthy in Thy holy pastures. Remember not his transgressions and sins, and cause his departure to be peaceable and blessed. Heal the griefs of his relatives who survive him with the Spirit of consolation, and grant unto us all a

¹ *Op. cit.* ii. 15.

² This sentence appears in the MS. as part of the text and is so printed by Dr. Wobbermin. Mr. Brightman prints it as a rubric, as above.

³ Serapion, i.

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good end. Through Thy only-begotten Jesus Christ, through whom to Thee is the glory and the power in the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.¹

The *Apostolic Constitutions* may be regarded as having been compiled by a writer at Antioch or in the neighbourhood in the latter half of the fourth century.² The liturgy which they contain has in it prayers for the departed :

‘Further we also offer unto Thee for all the saints who have been well-pleasing unto Thee from the beginning of the world, patriarchs, prophets, righteous men, apostles, martyrs, confessors, bishops, presbyters, deacons, subdeacons, readers, singers, virgins, widows, lay people, and all whose names Thou knowest.’³

‘Let us pray for those who are laid to rest in faith.’⁴

In the directions concerning funerals it is said :

‘For those who are laid to rest in Christ, after the bidding prayer, that we may not repeat it again, the deacon shall add as follows : Let us pray for our brethren who are laid to rest in Christ that God the lover of man, who has received his soul, may forgive him every sin, voluntary and involuntary, and may be merciful and gracious, and may appoint him a place in the land of the pious. . . . And let the bishop say . . . do Thou now also look upon this Thy servant whom Thou hast chosen and received into another state, and forgive him whatever sin he may have committed voluntarily or involuntarily, and afford him gracious angels, and appoint him a place in the bosom of the patriarchs, and prophets, and apostles, and all those who from the beginning of the world have been well-pleasing unto Thee, where there is no grief, sorrow, and lamentation, but the peaceable abode of the godly and the land in Thy presence of the upright, and of those who therein see the glory of Thy Christ, through whom to Thee is glory, honour, and majesty, thanksgiving, and worship in the Holy Ghost for ever and ever. Amen.’⁵

‘Let the third day of those who have fallen asleep be celebrated with psalms, and lessons, and prayers, because of Him who was raised after three days, and a ninth day for a remembrance of the survivors and of those who have fallen asleep, and the fortieth in accordance with the ancient pattern (for so did the people lament

¹ Serapion, 18.

² See Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, i. xxiv.-xxix.

³ *Apostolic Constitutions*, viii. 12.

⁴ *Ibid.* viii. 13.

⁵ *Ibid.* viii. 40, 41.

for Moses), and the yearly anniversary in memory of him. And from his goods let a gift be made to the poor for a memorial of him.¹

As in the *Apostolic Constitutions*, so in the early Liturgies in general prayers for the dead are found. It may be sufficient to quote a part of the Intercession from the Liturgy of St. Mark :

‘The priest shall bow down and say : O Master and Lord our God, give rest unto the souls of all these also in the tabernacles of Thy saints, in Thy kingdom, granting to them the good things of Thy promises, which eye hath not seen and ear hath not heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man what Thou, O God, hast prepared for those who love Thy holy name. Give rest unto their souls, and account them worthy of the kingdom of heaven.’²

It may, of course, be pointed out that the manuscripts of the Liturgies are of late date, and maintained that considerable additions may have been made to the prayers which were in use in the fourth century. True as such a general statement would be, it cannot be applied to the main features of the prayers for the departed. The *Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril of Jerusalem, delivered in 348 A.D., contain an explanation of the Liturgy used in Palestine at that time. In his description of the intercession St. Cyril says :

‘Then we make mention also of those who have fallen asleep before us, first patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs, that God would receive our petition at their prayers and intercessions. Then on behalf also of the holy fathers and bishops who have fallen asleep before us, and in a word of all who among us have fallen asleep before us, believing there will be the greatest benefit to the souls on behalf of whom the supplication is offered up when the holy and most awful sacrifice is set forth.’³

Thus, the *Catechetical Lectures* of St. Cyril show that the Liturgy used in the Church at Jerusalem in the middle of the fourth century contained prayers for the departed of the same general character as those found in the present texts of the

¹ *Op. cit.* viii. 42.

² *Op. cit.* i. 129.

³ St. Cyril of Jerusalem, *Catechetical Lectures*, xxiii. 9.

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Liturgies. In like manner the writings of St. Chrysostom show that the Liturgy in use at Antioch towards the end of the same century contained similar prayers. In his invaluable book on the Liturgies, the remaining volume of which scholars are awaiting with great eagerness and hope, Mr. Brightman has reconstructed part of the Liturgy of Antioch from the references to it in the writings of St. Chrysostom. In the Liturgy thus reconstructed the words occur :

‘Let us all in common make supplication . . . on behalf of all who have fallen asleep in Christ, and of those who are offering the memorials on their behalf.’¹

In St. Chrysostom’s *Homilies on the First Epistle to the Corinthians*, delivered in Antioch before 397 A.D., he says :

‘Not in vain do we make remembrance of the departed at the holy mysteries, and draw near to God on their behalf, beseeching the Lamb set forth who took away the sin of the world, but that thence to them may be some consolation. Not in vain, again, does he who stands at the altar when the awful mysteries are accomplished cry out : On behalf of all who have fallen asleep in Christ, and of those who are offering the memorials on their behalf. For if the memorials were not on their behalf these words would not be spoken. For our rites are no stage play (God forbid) ; for they take place by the appointment of the Spirit.’²

It is needless, and would be wearisome, to accumulate quotations from the Fathers on this subject ; but in addition to what has been said we may quote two passages from St. Ambrose and St. Augustine. In his funeral oration entitled *On the Death of Valentinian*, delivered at Milan in 392 A.D., St. Ambrose thus addresses the departed souls of Gratian and Valentinian :

‘Happy are ye both if my prayers at all avail ! No day will pass you by in silence, no prayer of mine will leave you unhonoured, there will be no night without my making some gift of prayers, your names I shall ever mention at every offering of the sacrifice.’³

¹ Brightman, *Liturgies, Eastern and Western*, i. 475 ; cf. pp. 474, 480.

² St. Chrysostom, *In 1 Cor. Hom.* xli. 4 ; cf. an equally striking passage in St. Chrysostom, *In Phil. Hom.* iii. 4.

³ St. Ambrose, *De Obitu Valent.* 78.

In one of his sermons St. Augustine refers to the Church's practice of prayer for the dead in the following terms :

'We may not doubt that the dead are aided by the prayers of the Holy Church, and the health-giving sacrifice, and the alms which are given on behalf of their spirits, so that they receive more merciful treatment from the Lord than their sins deserve. For this has been handed down from our fathers, this the whole Church observes, that, when they who have departed in the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ are commemorated in their proper place at the offering of the sacrifice, prayer is made on their behalf.'¹

As a student of the history of the early Church notices how constant and simple and natural the prayers for the departed are, no knowledge of later abuses and controversies can quite hold back his wonder that the performance of this kindly duty to the dead has seemed to so many useless and wrong.

The scope of our present article does not allow of any lengthened treatment of the period between the beginning of the fifth century and the Reformation. But the course of events at the Reformation cannot be understood apart from the ideas of a material purgatory which became widely held, the sale of indulgences applicable to the dead, and notions of a mechanical efficacy of Masses and prayers. Two descriptions of purgatory, selected because they occur in the writings of good and spiritually minded men, will illustrate what we mean. The first is from the account of the vision of Drithelm recorded by the Venerable Bede. In that vision Drithelm saw purgatory and hell and the state of the blessed who have not yet attained to Heaven and Heaven itself. The description of purgatory is as follows :

'We came to a valley of great breadth and depth, but of infinite length ; on our left one side was exceeding terrible with glowing flames, the other side was no less intolerable with raging hail and cold snow flying in all directions. Each side was full of the souls of men which seemed to be tossed from one part to the other as by a violent storm. For when they could no longer bear the excessive heat, the wretched beings leapt into the midst of the dreadful cold ; and when they could not find any rest there either, they leapt back

¹ St. Augustine, *Serm.* clxxii. 2.

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again to suffer the burning in the midst of the unquenchable flames. . . . That valley which you saw so dreadful with glowing flames and bitter cold is the place in which the souls of those are tried and punished who, delaying to repent and amend their crimes, at length have recourse to penitence at the very point of death and thus depart this life, yet because they even at death made confession and had penitence they shall all attain unto the Kingdom of Heaven at the day of judgment. But many are aided by the prayers of the living and their alms and their fasts and most of all by the Celebration of Masses, so that they are set free even before the day of judgment.¹

The other description of purgatory is from the defence of the chantries and of Masses for the dead in general in Sir Thomas More's *Supplication of Souls*. Sir Thomas More, in the person of the souls in purgatory, thus writes :

' If ye pity the poor, there is none so poor as we, that have not a brat to put on our backs. If ye pity the blind, there is none so blind as we, which are here in the dark, saving for sights unpleasant and loathsome till some comfort come. If ye pity the lame, there is none so lame as we, that neither can creep one foot out of the fire nor have one hand at liberty to defend our face from the flame. Finally, if ye pity any man in pain, never knew ye pain comparable to ours, whose fire as far passeth in heat all the fires that ever burned on earth as the hottest of that passeth a feigned fire painted on a wall. If ever ye lay sick, or thought the night long, and longed sore for day, while every hour seemed longer than five, bethink you then what a long night we silly souls endure, that lie sleepless, restless, burning and broiling in the dark fire one long night of many days, of many weeks, and some of many years together. You walter, peradventure, and tolter in sickness from side to side, and find little rest in any part of the bed ; we lie bound to the brands, and cannot lift up our heads. You have your physicians with you that sometimes cure and heal you ; no physic will help our pain, nor no plaster cool our heat. Your keepers do you great ease, and put you in good comfort ; our keepers are such as God keep you from—cruel, damned spirits, odious, envious, and hateful, despitous enemies and despitful tormentors, and their company more terrible and grievous to us than is the pain itself ; and the intolerable torment that they do us, wherewith from top to toe they cease not continually to tear us.'²

¹ Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* v. 12.

² Sir Thomas More, *Supplication of Souls*, fol. xlii, xliii. The spelling has been modernized above.

At the beginning of the Reformation this extreme development of the purgatorial fire at which St. Augustine¹ and other early writers² had hinted, which St. Gregory the Great affirmed,³ aggravated by mechanical ideas of religion⁴ into which it is always easy to slip, and by the system of payment for Masses, seemed in the West almost inextricably mixed with the practice of prayer for the dead.

In 1536 the document entitled *Articles devised by the King's Highness Majesty to establish Christian quietness and unity among us, and to avoid contentious opinions, which articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the whole clergy of this realm, or Articles about religion set out by the Convocation and published by the King's authority*, usually known as the 'ten articles,' was drawn up and sanctioned by Convocation, signed by the members of Convocation, headed by Thomas Cromwell, and issued in the name of King Henry VIII. The tenth of these articles dealt with the subjects of purgatory and prayers for the dead. It was an attempt to get rid of abuses, and at the same time retain some doctrine of purgatory and the practice of prayers for the dead.

The Institution of a Christian Man, usually known as the *Bishops' Book*, was drawn up by a commission of bishops and divines under the presidency of Archbishop Cranmer in 1537. It was not authorized by either Convocation or Parliament, and the king refused to give it formal sanction, although he ordered some part of it to be read every Sunday for three years. It was signed by both archbishops, all the diocesan bishops, and twenty-five doctors. The article on purgatory which it contained was the same as that in the 'ten articles.'

¹ St. Augustine, *In Ps. xxxvii.* 3, *Enchir.* 69, *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 3, 26 (4).

² See Tertullian, *De Anim.* 58; *S. Perpetuae Passio*, 7, 8; Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* vii. 6, 12; Origen, *In Lev. Hom.* xiv. 3; *In Num. Hom.* xxv. 6; *In Jer. Hom.* xvi. 5, 6; *In Ps. xxxvi. Hom.* iii. 1; St. Ambrose, *In Ps. xxxvi. Enar.* 26; *In Ps. cxviii. Exp.* xx. 12-14; St. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Orat.* xxxix. 9.

³ St. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* iv. 39.

⁴ See Melchior Canus, *De Loc. Theol.* XII. xi. 69-74; Cajetan, *Quaest. atque Quodlib. (De Sacr. Euchar.)*.

A revision of *The Institution of a Christian Man* which was the work of a commission consisting of the two archbishops, six bishops, and twelve doctors, was submitted to and approved by Convocation in 1543, and was published with the authority of the king under the title *A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*. It became known as the 'King's Book.' In this document the article on purgatory was greatly enlarged. It was as follows:

'Of prayer for souls departed.

'Forasmuch as due order of charity requireth, and the Book of Maccabees and divers ancient doctors plainly show, that it is a very good and charitable deed to pray for souls departed; and forasmuch as such usage hath continued in the Church so many years, even from the beginning, men ought to judge and think the same to be well and profitably done. And truly it standeth with the very order of charity, a Christian man to pray for another, both quick and dead, and to commend one another in their prayers to God's mercy, and to cause other to pray for them also, as well in Masses and exequies, as at other times, and to give alms for them, according to the usage of the Church and ancient opinion of the old fathers; trusting that these things do not only profit and avail them, but also declare us to be charitable folk, because we have mind and desire to profit them, which, notwithstanding they be departed this present life, yet remain they still members of the same mystical body of Christ whereunto we pertain.

'And here is specially to be noted that it is not in the power or knowledge of any man to limit and dispense how much, and in what space of time, or to what person particularly, the said Masses, exequies, and suffrages do profit and avail: therefore charity requireth that whosoever causeth any such Masses, exequies, or suffrages to be done, should yet (though their intent be more for one than for another) cause them also to be done for the universal congregation of Christian people, quick and dead; for that power and knowledge afore rehearsed pertaineth only unto God, which alone knoweth the measures and times of his own judgment and mercies.

'Furthermore, because the place where the souls remain, the name thereof, the state and condition which they be in, be to us uncertain, therefore these, with all other such things, must also be left to Almighty God, unto whose mercy it is meet and convenient for us to commend them, trusting that God accepteth our prayers for them, reserving the rest wholly to God, unto whom is known their estate and condition, and not we to take upon us, neither in

the one part ne yet in the other, to give any fond and temerarious judgment in so high things so far passing our knowledge.

'Finally, it is much necessary that all such abuses as heretofore have been brought in by supporters and maintainers of the Papacy of Rome, and their complices, concerning this matter, be clearly put away; and that we therefore abstain from the name of purgatory, and no more dispute and reason thereof. Under colour of which have been advanced many fond and great abuses, to make men believe that through the Bishop of Rome's pardons souls might clearly be delivered out of it and released out of the bondage of sin, and that Masses said at *Scala Caeli* and other prescribed places, phantasied by men, did there in those places more profit the souls than in another, and also that a prescribed number of prayers sooner than other (though as devoutly said) should further their petition sooner, yea, specially if they were said before one image more than another which they phantasied. All these, and such like abuses, be necessary utterly to be abolished and extinguished.'¹

So far, then, as the English Reformation had proceeded in the reign of Henry VIII., it is perfectly clear that, while certain abuses of the later Middle Ages were condemned, prayers for the dead were allowed and commended.

The First Prayer Book of Edward VI. was issued in 1549. It contained explicit prayers for the departed. In the Holy Communion the prayer 'for the whole state of Christ's Church,' after the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin and the patriarchs, prophets, apostles, and martyrs, went on:

'We commend unto Thy mercy (O Lord) all other Thy servants, which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech Thee, Thy mercy and everlasting peace, and that at the day of the general resurrection we and all they which be of the mystical body of Thy Son may altogether be set on His right hand and hear that His most joyful voice: Come unto Me, O ye that be blessed of My Father, and possess the kingdom which is prepared for you from the beginning of the world.'

The Order for the Burial of the dead contained the following prayers for the departed:

'I commend thy soul to God the Father Almighty'; 'We com-

¹ Lloyd, *Formularies of Faith put forth by Authority during the Reign of Henry VIII.*, pp. 375-377.

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mend into the hands of mercy (most merciful Father) the soul of this our brother departed N. And his body we commit to the earth, beseeching Thine infinite goodness to give us grace to live in Thy fear and love, and to die in Thy favour: that when the judgment shall come which Thou hast committed to Thy wellbeloved Son, both this our brother and we may be found acceptable in Thy sight, and receive that blessing which Thy wellbeloved Son shall then pronounce to all that love and fear Thee, saying, Come, ye blessed children of My Father: Receive the kingdom prepared for you before the beginning of the world. Grant this, merciful Father, for the honour of Jesu Christ our only Saviour, Mediator, and Advocate. Amen.'

'Almighty God, we give Thee hearty thanks for this Thy servant, whom Thou hast delivered from the miseries of this wretched world, from the body of death and all temptation: and, as we trust, hast brought his soul, which he committed into Thy holy hands, into sure consolation and rest: Grant, we beseech Thee, that at the day of judgment his soul and all the souls of Thy elect, departed out of this life, may with us and we with them, fully receive Thy promises, and be made perfite altogether, through the glorious resurrection of Thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord.'

'O Lord, with whom do live the spirits of them that be dead: and in whom the souls of them that be elected, after they be delivered from the burden of the flesh, be in joy and felicity: Grant unto this Thy servant, that the sins which he committed in this world be not imputed unto him, but that he, escaping the gates of hell and pains of eternal darkness, may ever dwell in the region of light, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the place where is no weeping, sorrow, nor heaviness; and when that dreadful day of the general resurrection shall come, make him to rise also with the just and righteous, and receive this body again to glory, then made pure and incorruptible: set him on the right hand of Thy Son Jesus Christ, among Thy holy and elect, that then he may hear with them these most sweet and comfortable words: Come to Me, ye blessed of My Father, possess the kingdom which hath been prepared for you from the beginning of the world: Grant this, we beseech Thee, O merciful Father, through Jesus Christ our Mediator and Redeemer.'

The same Book made provision for 'The Celebration of the Holy Communion when there is a burial of the dead'; and the Collect in this Office contained the prayer that:

'at the general resurrection in the last day both we and this our brother departed, receiving again our bodies, and rising again in Thy

most gracious favour, may with all Thine elect Saints obtain eternal joy.'

The Second Prayer Book of Edward VI. was published in 1552. From it was excluded any explicit prayer for the dead; and the words which in the Book of 1549 had been 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church' were altered to 'Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church militant here on earth.' Phrases were retained both in the Holy Communion and in the Order for the Burial of the dead which were capable of being understood, and probably were used by some, as expressing prayer for the departed. In the Holy Communion were the words:

'Most humbly beseeching Thee to grant, that by the merits and death of Thy Son Jesus Christ, and through faith in His blood, we and all Thy whole Church may obtain remission of our sins and all other benefits of His passion.'

In the Order for the Burial of the dead there was the prayer:

'Beseeching Thee, that it may please Thee of Thy gracious goodness, shortly to accomplish the number of Thine elect, and to haste Thy kingdom, that we with this our brother and all other departed in the true faith of Thy holy name, may have our perfect consummation and bliss both in body and soul in Thy eternal and everlasting glory.'

In the Prayer Book of Elizabeth, published in 1559, no alteration bearing on the subject of prayers for the dead was made in the Book of 1552; and the Book of James I., published in 1604, also was in this respect unchanged.

In the revision of 1661, which resulted in the Prayer Book of 1662, two alterations touching this subject were made. At the end of the prayer for the Church militant the following sentence was added:

'And we also bless Thy holy name for all Thy servants departed this life in Thy faith and fear, beseeching Thee to give us grace so to follow their good examples, that with them we may be partakers of Thy heavenly kingdom.'

In the Order for the Burial of the dead an alteration was made in the prayer which we quoted last from that Office, substituting 'we with all those that are departed' for 'we

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with this our brother and all other departed.' Thus there was still an absence of any distinct prayers for the departed, and still the presence of phrases which those of the worshippers who wished to do so could understand as enabling them to pray for the dead.

This action of the Church of England in providing a Book of Common Prayer which those who disapproved of prayers for the dead could use, and with which those who wished to pray for the dead could connect such prayers, was in one respect contrary to, and in another respect in accordance with, her general policy. It involved a failure to carry out completely her appeal to the primitive Church. For the primitive Church, as we have seen, prayed for the dead in explicit terms in public worship. On the other hand, it formed part of that characteristic policy by which the Church of England attempted to include within her borders men who, while agreeing as to the central doctrines of the faith, differed about much else. For it secured that those who prayed for the dead, and those who did not do so, could unite to use the Book of Common Prayer.

We are aware that the view of the attitude of the Church of England towards prayer for the dead which we have just presented has been challenged. It has been maintained that the use of prayer for the dead is wholly unlawful for members of the Church of England because of the alterations in the public Offices by which explicit prayers of this kind were removed, the condemnation of the 'Romish doctrine concerning purgatory' in the twenty-second Article of Religion, and some statements in the *Homily of Prayer*. Apart from the last two points, the argument based on the alterations could hardly be pressed. The changes made may be sufficiently explained by the reaction against mediæval abuses which made many hesitate to commit themselves to the practice of praying for the dead, the difficulty of expressing prayers of this kind without suggesting that the eternal lot of the departed might be reversed after their death, and the apparent necessity of including in the National Church those who refused to commemorate the dead in the way of prayer. The

arguments derived from the twenty-second Article and the *Homily of Prayer* need fuller consideration.

In the 'forty-two articles' of 1553 what was then the twenty-third article contained the words :

'The doctrine of school authors concerning purgatory . . . is a fond thing vainly feigned, and grounded upon no warrant of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God.'

In the revisions of 1563 and 1571 the phrase 'doctrine of school authors' was altered to 'Romish doctrine' (*doctrina Romanensium*). It can hardly be doubted that those who were responsible for this latter phrase knew that they were using an ambiguous expression. They must have known as well as we do that it might be understood to denote the doctrine of the Church of Rome, the doctrine of the Roman theologians, or certain extreme views of a popular kind which had been current at the end of the Middle Ages. In using this ambiguous term they left the notion of purgatory which was condemned open to very different interpretations on the part of those who subscribed the articles. It would be altogether straining the language of the article to insist that it of necessity condemns any belief in a spiritual discipline and training and growth in the intermediate state. 'Nothing, I think, can be clearer,' wrote so keen a critic as Dr. Hort, 'than that the article does not condemn all doctrine that may be called a doctrine of purgatory.'¹ If it does not condemn belief in a spiritual progress which continues after death, still less can it be said to condemn prayers for the dead. And it is worth while to notice that the original draft of the article contained the words 'concerning prayer for the dead,' and that these words were struck out before it was accepted and published in 1553.²

The *Homily of Prayer* certainly rejects prayer for the dead. The passage in which it deals with this subject is as follows :

'Now to entreat of that question whether we ought to pray for them that are departed out of this world or no? Wherein, if we will

¹ *Life and Letters of F. J. A. Hort*, ii. 336.

² See Hardwick, *A History of the Articles of Religion*, p. 102, note 2 (edition of 1890).

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cleave only unto the word of God, then we must needs grant that we have no commandment so to do. For the Scripture doth acknowledge but two places after this life : the one proper to the elect and blessed of God, the other to the reprobate and damned souls ; as may well be gathered by the parable of Lazarus and the rich man . . . Let us not deceive ourselves, thinking that either we may help other, or other may help us by their good and charitable prayers in time to come. For, as the preacher saith, "When the tree falleth, whether it be toward the south or toward the north, in what place soever the tree falleth there it lieth," Eccles. xi. : meaning thereby that every mortal man dieth either in the state of salvation or damnation, according as the words of the Evangelist John do also plainly import, saying, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath eternal life ; but he that believeth not on the Son shall never see life, but the wrath of God abideth upon him," John iii. Where is then the third place, which they call purgatory ? Or where shall our prayers help and profit the dead ? . . . Let these and such other places be sufficient to take away the gross error of purgatory out of our heads ; neither let us dream any more that the souls of the dead are anything at all holpen by our prayers ; but, as the Scripture teacheth us, let us think that the soul of man, passing out of the body, goeth straightways either to heaven or else to hell, whereof the one needeth no prayer and the other is without redemption. The only purgatory wherein we must trust to be saved is the death and blood of Christ. . . . This then is that purgatory wherein all Christian men put their whole trust and confidence, nothing doubting but if they truly repent them of their sins, and die in perfect faith, that then they shall forthwith pass from death to life. If this kind of purgation will not serve them, let them never hope to be released by other men's prayers, though they should continue therein unto the world's end. . . . Let us not therefore dream either of purgatory or of prayer for the souls of them that be dead.'

Certainly there can be few now who accept all the teaching contained in this *Homily*. Besides the confusion between the possibility of progress and the possibility of reversal after death, it denies the existence of the intermediate state altogether, and it asserts the incompatibility of redemption through Christ and any value in prayer for the dead in such a way as logically to involve the rejection of prayer of any kind by believers in Christ who accept its arguments. But the point which concerns us at present is that English Churchmen, whether of the clergy or of the laity, are not bound by all the

statements in the *Homilies*. The thirty-fifth Article of Religion, indeed, states that the *Homilies* 'contain a godly and wholesome doctrine, and necessary for these times'; but this is very different from a statement that everything which they say is true. As so temperate a writer as Dr. Gibson has said :

'The assent demanded to them is of a very general character, and cannot be held to bind us to the acceptance of every statement made in them. Nothing whatever is said about the *historical* statements contained in them, some of which are highly questionable, or even demonstrably false. And as to the doctrine, all that is asserted is that they "*contain a godly and wholesome doctrine.*"'¹

It is difficult to suppose that anyone could seriously consider the extraordinary mixture of what is valuable and what is worthless which is found in the *Homilies*, and then dispassionately maintain that all their statements are binding. And on the particular subject which we are at present discussing, the judgment of Sir H. J. Fust in the Arches Court of Canterbury on November 19, 1838, is of weight :

'It seemed clearly to have been the intention of the composer of the *Homilies* to discourage the practice of praying for the dead ; but it does not appear that in any part of the *Homilies* he declares the practice to be an unlawful one. But supposing he had been of opinion that such prayers were unlawful, it is not to be necessarily inferred that the Church of England adopted every part of the doctrines contained in the *Homilies*. If it had been the opinion of the framers of the articles and canons of the Church that prayers for the dead were opposed to the Scriptures, they would have expressly declared their illegality.'

That it is not unlawful for English Churchpeople to use prayers for the dead is further supported by books of prayer put out with authority in the reign of Elizabeth, and by the belief and practice of eminent Anglican divines.

Too much stress must not be laid on any argument in favour of the lawfulness of prayers for the dead in the Church of England based on the Latin Prayer Book of Elizabeth, published with the authority of the Crown in 1560. Though

¹ Gibson, *The Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England*, ii. 726, 727.

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this book contains an office for the commemoration of benefactors and a Collect, Epistle, and Gospel for use when the Holy Communion is celebrated at funerals which lend themselves easily to prayer for the departed, yet it is only fair to notice that these were prefaced by a quotation from St. Augustine, 'Curatio funeris, conditio sepulturae, pompa exequiarum, magis sunt vivorum solatia quam subsidia mortuorum.'¹ But the edition of *The Primer set forth at large with many and godly and devout prayers* issued in 1559 contained explicit prayers for the dead. At the end of Lauds was the prayer:

'Lord Jesu Christ, Son of the living God, set Thy holy passion, cross, and death between Thy judgment and our souls, both now and at the hour of death. And moreover vouchsafe to grant unto the living mercy and grace, to the dead pardon and rest, to Thy holy Church peace and concord, and to us wretched sinners life and joy everlasting.'²

The 'Dirige' contained the 'Anthems':

'Lord, grant Thy people everlasting rest.
And let Thy everlasting light shine on them.'
'Lord, give Thy people eternal rest.
And light perpetual shine on them.'³

At the end of it were the prayers:

'O God, which by the mouth of St. Paul Thine Apostle hast taught us not to wail for them that sleep in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, that in the coming of Thy Son our Lord Jesu Christ both we

¹ St. Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, i. 12. The Offices of the Latin Prayer Book referred to are on pp. 431-434 of the Parker Society's volume *Liturgies and Occasional Forms of Prayer set forth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth*. It has been suggested that the special features of this Latin book were merely the result of the translator, Haddon, carelessly following the Latin version by Aless of the Book of 1549. This suggestion, however, does not allow for (1) the differences in the two books; (2) the statement in a proclamation of Elizabeth that she had allowed particular observances at funerals. See Collier, *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, v. 287.

² *Private Prayers put forth by authority during the reign of Queen Elizabeth* (Parker Society), p. 33.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 62, 67.

and all other faithful people being departed may be graciously brought unto the joys everlasting.'

'Almighty, eternal God, to whom there is never any prayer made without hope of mercy, be merciful to the souls of Thy servants being departed from this world in the confession of Thy name that they may be associate to the company of Thy saints.'

'Lord, bow down Thine ears unto our prayers, wherein we devoutly call upon Thy name for mercy, that Thou wilt bestow the souls of Thy servants, which Thou hast commanded to depart out of this world, in the country of peace and rest, and cause them to be partakers with Thy holy servants.'¹

It would be easy to illustrate at length the use of prayers for the dead by eminent Anglican divines. It may be sufficient for our present purpose to quote a statement by a writer who can so little be suspected of partisanship as Mr. Abbey. Writing of the Nonjurors, Mr. Abbey says :

'Some observations of a somewhat similar kind may be made in regard of prayers for the departed, another subject which the English Church has wisely left to private opinion. The nonjuring "usages," on the other hand, restored to the Liturgy the clauses which the better judgment of their ancestors had omitted. Some went further, and insisted that, "prayer for their deceased brethren was not only lawful and useful but their bounden duty."² All of them, however, without exception, contested with perfect sincerity that their doctrine on these points was not that of Rome, and that they entirely repudiated, as baseless and unscriptural, the superstructure which that Church has raised upon it. The nonjuring separation drew away from the National Church many who as a matter of private opinion had held the tenet without rebuke ; and although, in the middle of the eighteenth century, John Wesley stoutly defended it,³ and Dr.

¹ *Op. cit.* p. 67. These prayers occur also in another edition of the *Primer* of the reign of Elizabeth, but of uncertain date. They are omitted in the edition of 1566. See Mr. Clay's preface to the Parker Society's edition, pp. x., xi. For services in connexion with funerals in the reign of Elizabeth see the descriptions and references in Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 644 ; *Hierurgia Anglicana*, ii. 190-192 (new edition, 1903).

² Lathbury, *A History of the Nonjurors*, 302.

³ In answer to Lavington, who charged him with prayers to that effect in his *Devotions for every day in the week* (*Enthusiasm of Methodists and Papists*, 157), Wesley answered, 'In this kind of general prayer for the faithful departed, I conceive myself to be clearly justified

Johnson always argued for its propriety and personally maintained the practice,¹ an idea gained ground that it was wholly unauthorized by the English Church and contrary to its spirit. But at the opening of the century it appears to have been a tenet not unfrequently maintained, especially among High Churchmen, whether Jurors or Non-jurors. Dr. I. Barrow, says Hearne, "was mighty for it."² In the form of prayer for January 30, 1661, there was a perfectly undisguised prayer of this kind, drawn up apparently by Archbishop Juxon.³ It had, however, only the authority of the Crown, and was expunged in the authorized form of prayer for 1662. Archbishop Wake said he did not condemn the practice,⁴ and Bishop Smalridge, already spoken of in the list of Robert Nelson's friends, is said to have been in favour of it.⁵ So was Robert Nelson himself. After describing the death of his old and honoured friend Bishop Bull, he adds in reference to him and to his wife, who had died previously: "The Lord grant unto them that they may find mercy of the Lord in that day."⁶ Bishop Ken may be quoted to the same effect. Writing to Dr. Nicholas in October, 1677, of the death of their friend, Mr. Coles, "cujus anima," he continues, "requiescat in pace."⁷ Dr. Ernest Grabe and Dean Hickes, two more of R. Nelson's intimate associates, were also accustomed to pray for those in either state.⁸

It is of great importance that the lawfulness of the use of prayers for the dead by members of the Church of England should not be obscured. If the Church of England were deprived of her appeal to the primitive Church, much of the possibility of defending her position would be destroyed;

both by the earliest antiquity and by the Church of England.' 'Answer to Lavington,' *Works*, ix. 55, also 'Letter to Dr. Middleton,' *Works*, x. 9.

¹ *Boswell's Life*, i. 187, 191, ii. 166.

² Hearne, *Reliquiae*, ii. 188.

³ Lathbury, *op. cit.* 302.

⁴ Wake, *Three Tracts against Popery*, § 3. Quoted with much censure by Blackburne, *Historical View*, &c. 115.

⁵ Lathbury, *op. cit.* 300.

⁶ Nelson, *Life of Bull*, 405.

⁷ Bowles, *Life of Ken*, 38.

⁸ Lathbury, 297, 302. The custom is spoken of as frequent among the High Churchmen of 1710-20—*Life of Kennel*, 125. The references in this and the last nine notes, as well as the quotation in the text, are from Abbey and Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, pp. 62, 63 (edition of 1887).

and it can be asserted with the greatest possible confidence that the primitive Church habitually prayed for the dead. As the Church of England has looked back in her appeal to the primitive Church, so in her best moments she has looked forward to the future. The hope of reunion may not be lightly laid aside. To reunion a condemnation of prayers for the dead would form a most serious obstacle. Wherever the Church of Rome has allowed corruptions to surround a true and Catholic doctrine and to invade practice, the reform of those corruptions might rightly be asked for in any project of reunion. To approach the Church of Rome with a condemnation of prayers for the dead would be to take up a wholly false position, wrong as well as hopeless. Nor is the case different in this respect with regard to the ancient Churches of the East. Their rejection of the later Western developments of purgatorial ideas has left them in full possession of prayers for the departed. Not only the Greek Church, which in the decrees of the Council of Bethlehem of 1672 accepted a doctrine approximating in some respects to Western ideas of purgatory,¹ but also the Russian Church, which made considerable modifications in those decrees before adopting them, apparently with a view to avoiding distinctively Western doctrines in this and other matters, habitually uses prayers for the departed as a part of her regular system. The *Longer Catechism of the Russian Church* says that 'prayer for the departed has ever formed a part of the Divine Liturgy from the first Liturgy of the Apostle James.'² And to the Eastern prayer for the dead is knit into the very texture of his life. 'I think it,' wrote Khomiakoff, 'rather reasonable than otherwise to believe that no bond of Christian love can be rent asunder by death in the spiritual world, whose only law is love.'³ He says elsewhere:

'We pray for the living that the grace of God may be upon them, and for the dead that they may become more worthy of the vision of God's face. We know nothing of an intermediate state of souls which have neither been received into the kingdom of God nor

¹ Council of Bethlehem, cap. xviii.

² See Blackmore, *The Doctrine of the Russian Church*, p. 99.

³ See Birkbeck, *Russia and the English Church*, p. 5

condemned to torture, for of such a state we have received no teaching either from the apostles or from Christ; we do not acknowledge purgatory, that is, the purification of souls by sufferings from which they may be redeemed by their own works or those of others; for the Church knows nothing of salvation by outward means, nor of any sufferings whatever they may be, except those of Christ; nor of bargaining with God, as in the case of a man buying himself off by good works. . . . So long as the end of time has not come, all the members of the Church, both living and departed, are being perfected incessantly by mutual prayer. . . . Mutual prayer is the blood of the Church, and the glorification of God her breath. We pray in a spirit of love, not of interest, in the spirit of filial freedom, not of the law of the hireling demanding his pay.¹

And to the motives which are derived from the Anglican appeal to antiquity and the hope of reunion, we may add that great spiritual benefit accrues to the living from praying for the dead, and that such prayers form part of the duty of the living towards those who are united with them in the body of Christ.

Recognizing, then, the lawfulness of prayer for the dead on the part of members of the Church of England, we have to ask in what ways this duty may be performed and this privilege used. In private prayers all may use it as their conscience, instructed as fully as is possible for them, allows. In public worship there are of necessity restrictions and limits. It will be following the tradition of the Church from the earliest times if, whatever other services of intercession there may be, the prayers for the departed are chiefly connected with the Holy Eucharist. In the Eucharist the rite itself is the great act of intercession for the dead, as for the living. The offering of the sacrifice is itself intercessory prayer. The reception of Communion unites the living with the dead in that mystic union which results from their common participation in the Manhood of the Word; and in the power which thence is theirs they plead for their departed friends. All this may be at the simplest possible Celebration of the Order of Holy Communion according to the Book of Common Prayer. Yet, where circumstances

¹ See Birkbeck, *op. cit.* pp. 217-19.

permit and the Bishop of the diocese allows, Christian love may well add other helps to prayer than those which the Prayer Book provides. The public reading of the names of the departed, in accordance with the practice of the ancient Church, may be at once an aid to the memory and the devotion of the congregation, and a commemoration before God. The use of a special Collect, Epistle, and Gospel may help many to realize better the great act in which they are engaged. Suitable introits, graduals, sequences, and hymns may do much to increase the power of prayer in a congregation.

In the present circumstances of the Church of England two things would, in our judgment, be of special value. If the Bishops, regarding both local needs and the historical methods of the Catholic Church, would regulate the use of prayers for the dead on some such lines as those which we have tried to sketch, they might prevent much which is unwise or wrong. If Low Churchmen would recognize that, while they can use the offices of the Church of England without praying for the departed, other members of the English Church are no less within their rights in having recourse to such prayers, they might promote a peace with which, in view of the facts of history, they would do well to be content.

ART. IX.—TRURO CATHEDRAL.

1. *The Bishopric of Truro.* By the Rev. AUG. B. DONALDSON, M.A. 14s. (London: Rivingtons, 1902.)
2. *The Cathedral. Its Necessary Place in the Life and Work of the Church.* By EDWARD WHITE BENSON, then Bishop of Truro. 6s. (London: John Murray, 1878.)
3. *The Cornish See and Cathedral.* Historical and Architectural Notes. Published by the authority of the Dean and Chapter of Truro. Second Edition. 2s. (Truro: Heard and Sons; London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.)

SOME who read this paper may have stood five-and-twenty years ago with Archbishop Benson in the churchyard at

Kenwyn, and, looking down between the arching trees, have heard him speak of how high the roof of the Cathedral would come against the hills beyond—choir and transepts to be built in our time, the nave to be the work of later generations—until the vision seemed to rise, and one could fancifully mourn the blotting out from sight of the misty fiord of the Fal. And already that 'Vision dim descried' has risen in stone, choir and transepts and nave, and the Fal is nearly hidden.

The history of Truro Cathedral is the history of an enthusiasm; and the wonder of it is the more when we remember that this cathedral is not in the 'central roar' of some great northern city, nor in the crowded ways of Westminster, but in a remote rural corner of England, a county supposed to be the stronghold of Dissent. Yet it must not be thought that the central point of the history is simply the building of a cathedral; it is rather the embodiment of the cathedral idea.

Canon Donaldson sketches in a very telling way the preparation in Cornwall which led up to this embodiment—that is, the history of the thirty years' struggle to gain a Cornish episcopate. He traces the revival under Bishop Phillpotts, his restoration of discipline, and the removal of abuses in a county which was beginning to be kindled by the influence of the Tractarian movement; the startling change in the proportion of resident and non-resident clergy; the encouragement of efforts for education; the organization in his time of devotional conferences for clergy; and the influence brought to bear on the Ecclesiastical Commission to retain a fifth canonry at Exeter, in order that it might some time be applied for the benefit of the Cornish see.

Bishop Phillpotts knew by personal experience the difficulty of working the double diocese, a difficulty even greater then than now, when railways are trying to shoot out branch lines through Cornwall. Several attempts were made in his time to found a Cornish bishopric. In the Bill of 1847 Bodmin was named as one of four new sees. A more serious effort was made when Dr. Edmund Walker offered the advowson of St. Columb Major, and the Bishop was ready to

alienate 500*l.* of his income to aid in the endowment. In 1862 the Cathedral Commissioners urged the separation of dioceses, and Archbishop Longley visited Cornwall that he might be better able through personal knowledge to support the measure. On Bishop Phillpotts' death the attempt was renewed, but it was not until 1874 that the beginning of the final effort was made in which Mr. Edmund Carlyon took a leading part; an effort which, aided by Bishop Temple's offer of 800*l.* from the Exeter income, and crowned by Lady Rolle's magnificent donation of 40,000*l.*, brought the matter through in 1876. Truro was decided on as the seat of the Bishop, the vicar of Kenwyn gave up his house for the residence, and the bishopric was offered to Edward White Benson, at that time Chancellor of Lincoln.

No individual can create an enthusiasm, but he can focus and kindle it. Cornwall is made of enthusiastic materials, and Cornwall was ready to be kindled: one great effort had attained its object, and that in itself must gather scattered interests. The appointment of Dr. Benson was one of the most apt, in that he was of the vivid temperament, at once imaginative and practical, which was most likely to appeal to Cornwall, and to which the beauty, the history, and the romance of Cornwall, with its present opportunity and need, would most appeal.

Canon Donaldson's book opens with a description of the Delectable Duchy; the varied beauties of its coast, its moors, its woods. Truro itself is only nine miles from the cave-pierced battlemented cliffs of Perran on the north, where the great Atlantic breakers roll in over a plain of fine sand; and little further from the shell-strewn coves of the south, where sheltered valleys, sloping to the sea, hold gardens of strangely mixed northern and subtropic vegetation, so that you may see camellia and rhododendron a-bloom in January air, and the tree-fern droops over encircling snowdrops. Lis Escop, as Bishop Benson called the Kenwyn house, stands well above the misty basin of the town, in a country of pleasant sheltered pastures, and deep flowery lanes, with clear rivulets in the bottoms. The Bishop's journeys, not too hurried in those days, would lead him through changes of lovely country

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among which even the milky streams and desolate mine-heaps may gain a certain charm. Everywhere the records of the Cornish saints, in quaint musical names, reduplicated north and south, attached to church or hamlet, cross or baptismal well, trace their path from Ireland or Wales to Brittany, and show the source of Cornish Christianity. In these records the Bishop delighted, relating to the people of Perran-ar-worthal or Perranzabuloe how 'the old story about St. Piran coming across the sea on a millstone . . . and St. Petroc on an altar stone, showed very strong love, which led lonely people in such days to come among wild tribes, to teach them how to grind for themselves the Bread of Life.'¹

He delighted in the little stone tabernacle of St. Piran among the sandhills, which you can find, like a pirate's treasure, only by following the landmark of a deserted mine chimney; in finding that the village feast of St. Erme is still kept on the day of St. Hermes; in conjecturing that the Helston 'Furry Dance' went back even to Pagan times; in the many quaint customs which linger in Cornwall, from this dignified dance to the wild game of St. Columb with its silver ball; and, to go back further still, in the mystic stories hanging about the green cliffs of Tintagel, or the bar of Looe Pool between the ocean and the 'great water.'

This county is the background of a people who, with all the faults of an emotional temperament, have also a singular charm to attract the imagination and win the affection; a race vivacious and humorous, whose loyalty grows deeper as the years go by, and whose greatest interest is in religious questions: a race which therefore always will give birth to unlettered saints, whose spiritual power, illuminating minds naturally both shrewd and visionary, makes them known beyond their surroundings. Such were women like Mary Ann Davey, whose touching spiritual experience when she was 'forced to challenge the Lord,' or whose proverb 'if you let him (the devil) get a claw in, he'll bide,' are of help to many; and 'that capacious soul,' Mrs. Benney, the Truro pilot's wife, whose service to the Cathedral we shall have to

¹ *The Bishopric*, p. 130.

record. Religious capacity and interest was evidenced everywhere, from the man painting window frames, who stopped the Bishop to ask him about the Descent into Hell, to old John Keast, whose room was filled with the rustling of angels' wings, and who, impoverished in old age by the failure of a bank, still pointed upwards to 'the Father's Blue.' Such were the people and the county whose bishopric was now restored after a lapse of nine hundred years.

But if Cornwall was of power to kindle imagination into life, the man who now came to Cornwall as its Bishop was one with singularly ideal power. Not the power merely of imagining a beautiful idea, but of seeing with exceptional vividness the possibilities of the circumstances, the institutions, and the individual personalities surrounding him. This perception of opportunity is the soul of true organizing or formative power. 'Nothing *is* Utopian,' he said in a sermon in Lincoln Cathedral in 1872 dealing with the revivification of the cathedral system—'all conceptions are either practicable or impracticable. . . . But if the conceptions are practicable they are not Utopian; gravely, unswervingly, and sternly we must toil to incarnate them in every-day realities; nay, of themselves they are all sure one day to take form and substance; for us the only question is, How can we be faithful enough to be entrusted with their glories?'

What, then, was the cathedral idea which Dr. Benson brought with him, and which was to 'take form and substance' in Cornwall? Canon Donaldson's book does not give the true touch here. It was not Dr. Benson's life at Lincoln which first taught him the value of cathedral institutions, nor from Bishop Wordsworth that he learnt it. The quarterly essay, which was embodied in *The Cathedral*, was published before he became Chancellor, and it was greatly the impression made by his sermon 'Where are the Schools of the Prophets?' which made Bishop Wordsworth resolve to bring him to Lincoln to restore the Scholae Cancellarii.

Thus at Lincoln was the first attempt at the idea of the revivification of the cathedral system which he was to work out at Truro on a large scale. His book *The Cathedral* deals first with the ideal of the cathedrals of the old founda-

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tion, 'the strongholds of Church order,' 'popular institutions part of the grand idea of the time under which every order of genius and capability was to find its shelter, its training, and its avenue to influence.'¹

The essential idea of the chapter (there was no line between little chapter and grand chapter) was that it should be the senate of the diocese, the council of the bishop. The cathedral, as centre of the diocese, 'with its foreign, national, and diocesan relations,' had as its special functions schools of architecture under the masters of the fabric, of music under the precentor; its schools of grammar and divinity under the chancellor, who should lecture 'continually.' The archdeacon's jurisdiction was exterior to the cathedral; the treasurer guarded not alone the treasures of the cathedral body, but the clothing and medicine for the poor. Thus the cathedral service, 'the ceaseless supplication for grace, the perpetual intercession, the endless praise,' which must 'rise ever like a fountain night and day,' was not, as it seems to many, the sole function of the cathedral, but rather the sole function limited to its own walls.

How, then, would Dr. Benson translate this grand idea of the past into the forms of modern days? He found it eminently adaptable. The cathedral should be the vital centre in touch with other centres, diocesan and national and foreign, radiating energy through the diocese: in place of the scattered parochial charges of old time, modern conditions demanded that the special occupation of the chapter should be found in central diocesan organizations, including essentially laymen as well as clerics. For example, in the arrangement of conferences, theological, practical, devotional; in organization of preaching missions; in the formation of an order of lay readers; in organization of church and school building societies, and of charitable societies; in the inspection of religious education and the organization of Sunday schools; but the most important of the occupations of the capitular body must be the training and guidance of the clergy. For Dr. Benson looked forward with apprehension, too well justified, to the quarter of the century which has just passed to loosen

¹ *Cathedral*, p. 2.

still further the hold of the clergy on educated opinion; and urged that all who would wish them to preserve their position, intellectual and social—all, too, who would desire to work towards reunion, not only on lines of large charity, but of sound mutual understanding—must look towards the cathedral, where the chapter is gathered in its essential character as the council of the bishop. For as the senate of the diocese the chapter aims at realizing, through changes of individuals, a 'continuous yet flexible tradition,' and exercises in its conciliar character its most important activity.

Thus the needs and opportunities of the time demanded, he believed, 'the reconstruction upon a liberal and popular basis of a cathedral system.'

What, then, did such a system imply? First and most essentially, the cathedral body. The Act of 1876, authorizing the foundation of the bishopric of Truro, had given leave for the appointment of twenty-four honorary canons; and though there was at this time no endowment the installation of the first eight canons took place in the old church in January 1878.

The separate office of dean could most easily be dispensed with; the Bishop himself was to be Dean. The essential educational officer, the Chancellor, was found in Canon Whitaker, whose theological college began with eighteen men, and increased at the fullest time to twenty-one. Dr. Mason was Canon Missioner; Canon Thynne, transferred by his own desire from Exeter, became Treasurer; the Rector of Truro, one of the eight, had given the advowson to the see; and ultimately the rector, as Sub-Dean, became one of the four Residentiary Canons. Archdeacon Philpotts was at that time Archdeacon of Cornwall, and the present Archdeacon was one of the Canons. A second archdeaconry, that of Bodmin, was founded. When the Exeter Canonry was transferred in 1882 to Truro, the chancellorship and precentorship were endowed, and thus, with the Canon Missioner, and Sub-Dean a body of Residentiary Canons was formed.

Later, in 1887, the Cathedral was constituted as a body corporate, capable of holding property, endowments, and the Cornish patronage transferred from Exeter, and with right to

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choose a capitular proctor and to elect the bishop under the *congé-d'élire*.

But this solid embodiment is far beyond that first essential establishment of the capitular body on its true theoretic basis—no line between little chapter and grand chapter—with offices assigned, stalls carefully named to preserve the tradition of the past and keep green the memory of the saints, and psalter duly apportioned. Though, as the Bishop wrote, 'there are at present no endowments for clergy or choir or theological college or missions.'

But before these were supplied the second great essential of the Cathedral was already taken in hand, and that is what some would call 'the Cathedral itself'; but which is more truly the 'holy and beautiful house,' which should be the home of these energies.

St. Mary's Church at Truro was a structure of no architectural merit, except for its mouldering south aisle, a characteristic specimen of elaborate Cornish Perpendicular work. A fund had been already begun for the restoration of the church which was urgently needed, and at the first Cathedral meeting, in 1878, it was determined to hand over this fund (some three or four thousand pounds) towards the building of a central church in Truro. Feeling at first ran high against so large a venture as a cathedral; but in the end the Bishop could say:

'It has been a question whether we should attempt so much; whether we should rather content ourselves with a magnified parish church. I feel confident the committee have decided rightly—England would not have helped to build a parish church. . . . For the present the portion of it first proposed will meet our diocesan needs. It will be a centre of increasing love and unity and devotion for long years to come. It would be, in my view of history, a real loss to the sentiment of reunion if we were presented to-morrow with a ready-made minster. The voice of such a work in progress will ever be an utterance of power. It will remind us to do *all* our works in a *great* way—in a cathedral way.'¹

Thus later generations were as children of the Cathedral to grow to the work, to finish the uncarved capitals and

¹ *Life*, i. p. 451.

mouldings in whose roughness he delighted, as a pledge of faith. Meanwhile the crypt must stand, firm and true, with pillars carved as in old time of diverse stone, to test it for the fabric above, when of all, the Cornish granite was found the hardest to work. Thus, though granite was chosen for the main fabric of the building, facings and pillars were to be of Bath stone.

At that first meeting of the Cathedral Committee in 1878 15,000*l.* was subscribed. Lord Mount Edgcumbe became chairman of the committee. Mr. Pearson was chosen as the architect, and money began to come in. In May 1880 came the first day of Truro Cathedral, the laying of the stone.

On that blue, sunny Cornish day, the workmen—true Cornishmen—were, just before the ceremony, still running about within the great enclosure, laying down the red cloth for the procession. The King, then Prince of Wales, had desired to do his part according to Masonic ceremonies, and the Rural Deans, consulted by the Bishop, unanimously decided that it was desirable to use an old guild in this way.

'I found,' the Bishop wrote,¹ 'that the common little books of Foundation-Stone services were nothing but a watered-down version of the Pontifical, omitting some grand phrases and meaningful terms. These I restored, I hope, to nearer the original, and printed for our own use. . . . The laying of two stones, with the processions between, enabled us to approach still nearer the original, which is *said in three places of the wall-circuit*. Accordingly all proceeded according to this form, until the place of the Rubric "the stone is prepared by the Masons with the accustomed ceremonies." Here the Freemasons did their part, just instead of common masons, and when the "Grand Master" had concluded this portion, the service proceeded. The dignity and the simplicity and naturalness with which the Prince poured the corn and wine and oil over the stone, added much to the ceremony. . . . The whole of the clergy, near four hundred, had previously assembled in church and robed in silence, and then by ourselves we had the *Veni Creator*, the usual Psalms of the Office, and the Lord's Prayer. This was most solemn. And in all the churches of the city there had been Holy Communion celebrated—at the Cathedral twice. Over the whole of the vast crowd of the amphitheatre, or rather two amphitheatres (N.E. and

¹ *Life*, i. p. 454.

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S.W.), and over the whole day's events, was a strange, solemn, sweet brooding, which none have ever failed to own. All was quiet, all was natural, but we all felt that there was something of unwonted sense of the Eternal being near. How can we live up faithfully enough to that day?'

But a day that perhaps survives in more tender memory is the Sunday which followed the stone-laying, when the amphitheatre was filled again with four thousand people, many of whom had walked miles to hear the Bishop preach from the nave foundation-stone. The rebuilding of Jerusalem—continually through history re-enacted—must have been much in his mind; his last chapter of *The Cathedral*, summing up what had been done, is headed '*Quis enim despexit dies parvos?*' And when he records how, returning from discouraging visits to city dignitaries begging for Truro Cathedral, he entered Westminster Abbey to hear the reader of the Second Lesson pronounce '*This is the stone which was set at nought of you builders . . .*,' he adds, 'Not by might nor by power, but by Thy Spirit.' It was on this he preached now. Few who saw him will ever forget how he stood by the stone of the nave pillar, against a bright sky, his hair stirred by the wind, with something of radiance in his presence and bearing. Cornets led the singing of the congregation; and when Cornishmen sing hymns who shall stop or wish to stop them? So the congregation stayed on and on, after the set hymns were sung and many others, till the Bishop must bring himself to give out that the next hymn must be the last.

In 1880 the demolition of St. Mary's Church began: all that can be seen of the old church now—with the exception of the top of the steeple, which stands like an Old Testament monument in Lis Escop garden—is the south aisle, incorporated into the Cathedral after much discussion and at the expense of extensive restoration. The Bishop did not like this decision, but it cannot be denied that the south aisle, as well as the monuments of the old church, give a softening touch of antiquity to the new. The only contrast of style is introduced here, for the Perpendicular aisle joins the very simple Early English of the main fabric, and its ingenious connexion by flights of steps with the choir has added

dignity to the whole, while the retention has secured the continued existence of the parish church of St. Mary's.

Then began the days of the wooden Pro-Cathedral, that dear hot building, where the tar sometimes dripped through in melting summers—a place which seemed full and hot indeed with warm hopes, great desires, and the promise of things to come; where teachings of 'wise divinity and deep' and sermons to stir the heart, were delivered; and where the second Bishop of Truro, George Howard Wilkinson, was enthroned in 1883.

By this time the building was more than two years on its way. The cost of choir and transepts had been estimated in 1878 at 20,000*l.*, but by the spring of 1884, 90,000*l.* had been subscribed, and yet no provision had been made for the internal fittings. Bishop Wilkinson called together the 'women of Cornwall' to confer with him, and at a meeting of about a hundred and sixty ladies, from all parts of Cornwall, he put the case before them.

A long silence followed,¹ broken by Mrs. Benney, the pilot's wife, a most remarkable woman, who had in the last few years returned from Dissent to the Church and had a large Bible-class of women, whom she taught at one time sitting on the pulpit steps in St. Mary's Church. She, out of all the gathering, made the first proposal—namely, an undertaking to collect all the money that would be required for the chairs in the Cathedral.

'No one can really estimate,' the narrator continues, 'the labour involved in collecting for fifteen hundred chairs at a cost of 600*l.* Journeys to distant places had to be made, not by one who had little to do, but by an extremely busy woman. Weekly visits were paid to collect single pennies from poor folk who wished to have a chair given by themselves. An opportunity was never lost when "foreign" (*i.e.* not Cornish) captains called on business. Besides this labour of love, she had so brought her class into sympathy with her zeal for God's house, that they, with her, contributed 75*l.* for the steps on which the communicants kneel.'

The minimum cost of the simplest fittings was then estimated at near 1,700*l.*; but from first to last the 'Cornish

¹ *A Mother in Israel*, p. 57.

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Women's Association' has collected more than 20,000! Every detail of books, of vessels, and of altar-cloths came under the architect; the perfection of detail in a place so great is a singular charm; for the very inscriptions cut in stone, recording gifts, have been made to add beauty and ornament. But it is not the mass of money, nor even the generosity of great gifts, which goes to the heart as do the memorials it holds, and the number of names summed up in the great church. The beautiful baptistry, a memorial to Henry Martyn, keeps, in the sculptured medallion, a tender memory of Martin White Benson, the Bishop's eldest son, who died as the work was begun; the southern porch decoration was the gift of Canon Philpotts; the south transept the memorial to Bishop Benson when he went to Canterbury; and the nave commemorates his archiepiscopate.

But it is impossible to enumerate the special gifts—reredos and marble flooring, pulpit and font, organ and stained glass of the windows, or the beautiful 'Bishop's chalice,' set with chosen jewels—gifts of deaneries of the diocese, groups of Cornish men, women, and children, as church workers or children of the Sunday-schools; or gifts due to the generosity, the work, and the sacrifice of individuals often unnamed. It begins to have its own possession of history in the pastoral staff of its first bishop and his episcopal ring, cross, and documents, given by his son. Even in the time of Bishop Wilkinson there was a roll of twenty-three thousand names of Cornish donors.

'Some months before the date fixed for the dedication' in 1887, the Bishop commissioned . . . the Canon Missioner to organise and carry out, at several centres, a number of quiet days for prayer and devotion, by way of preparation for the great event; and on the morning of the day itself all who could do so were urged to communicate early at one of the five churches in Truro in order to lessen the number of communicants at the dedication service. In Truro itself, besides the service of preparation in the church, the Litany was chanted in the streets.

On November 3rd the wooden church served its use as

¹ *Bishopric*, p. 238.

vestry for the great procession of clergy, which passed in as the cathedral procession, with the Bishops and Archbishop, came up from the crypt, while the Archbishop's own translation of 'Blessed City, heavenly Salem, peaceful vision dim descried,' was sung by the choirs.

Archbishop Benson wrote :¹

'Truro Cathedral consecrated : hopeless to describe after the manner of describers. The building far finer and purer than we ever dared to hope, and finished to two first bays of nave up to triforium. The southern rose, built by Wellington boys, gave me intense pleasure. When I was a boy, and through my undergraduateship and onward, whenever I was at service in any cathedral, I used to pray vehemently that God "would bring back the holy and great spirit to England which had in its time raised this cathedral." . . . Few things have I to be more thankful for than to see it restored to us.'

'It has been very interesting to arrange the service with the blessed Bishop on better principles than of late, and old conversations now thirty-nine and thirty-four years ago with Christopher Sidgwick have been useful to me. He used to doubt whether the old service consecrated anything. It only prayed for people in the future. I have ventured to believe that the Author and Blesser and Giver of our material things knows how to, and can, and does bless *them*. "*Bless this corner-stone,*" we prayed when we laid the foundation ; and now "*We consecrate this place—hallow these things.*" God's blessing has rested on this faith.'

Thus 'font, lectern, pulpit, place of marriage and of Confirmation were solemnly hallowed, the great congregation standing silent as the little company passed onwards,'² moving eastwards, till after the blessing of the altar the Bishop turned, saying, 'Behold a ladder set up on the earth.' The consecration deed was signed before the altar, and, at the happy suggestion of the Bishop of Salisbury, was witnessed by the Prince of Wales. Before the consecration prayer, the altar vessels, 'a mass of gold and silver,' were offered ; and in spite of the preparation for early Communion in all the Truro churches, over four hundred people communicated at the time, so that one beautiful

¹ *Life*, i. p. 148.

² *Bishopric*, p. 253.

point was the carrying of the consecrated elements to the altar of the south aisle to communicate those who were kneeling there.

The Archbishop wrote :

'The Cathedral has sprung to its perfect power and beauty, its magnificence of fittings and splendour of vessels, out of a soil dry, cold, and unwilling to bear it.

'Every day that week the Cathedral was crammed with the ordinary parishioners of every deanery—each (or each two) had its services appointed—on the Friday I saw it *crowded* with the people from the two extreme deaneries, Penarth and Stratton. Labourers, fishermen and wives, farmers who work with their own hands, *many* of them dissenters—all now talk of "our cathedral," and are emulous in giving to it—and *such* a Catholic and English Church !'¹

Nothing could so completely touch the secret of the whole as the Archbishop's words that day when he spoke of²

'This beautiful work of God among us to-day—the first such founded and built these eight long centuries, founded and built for centuries to come, which has received so much love and grown to many as dear as if it were a living thing, and been prayed for daily ; and in the realized fellowship of many quiet days, not for what it is, but what it is to be, a pledge of growing unity, a seed of unity to come. . . .'

And ended :

"Respondete natalibus," was the cry of Cyprian to the Church of Carthage—"Rise to your birthright." How it would ring from his lips to-day if he saw the Bishop of an unbroken line, in presence of the Royalty of England, receive and offer his Church material and his Church spiritual in one offering before the King of kings. . . .

"Respondete natalibus," would not he echo the word to you—that old second Bishop of the newly united diocese—who, held by the hands of Edward the Confessor and Queen Edith, paced up the fresh built cathedral church of Exeter and received it as their gift ? Would he not say, rejoicing that the Church in Cornwall is her own again : "Rise to your birthright—your English, Catholic, Apostolic, Christ given birthright—help, comfort, strengthen, revive, found" ? As for enemies, it is far simpler to convert them than to conciliate them. By labour, by prayer, by love, you may convert. But by

¹ *Life*, i. p. 149.

² *Sowing and Reaping*.

temporal tremblings you never will conciliate. Men of Cornwall, you know what your cathedral has to do with all this. These things *are* the cathedral.'

But before we follow out the words 'these things are the cathedral,' we must rapidly sketch the history of the building to the end.

In 1891, to the great grief of Cornwall, Bishop Wilkinson's health forced him to resign. All Cornwall turned with hope to his successor who had done so much at Leeds.

But now other objects—religious education and increase of endowments of poorer livings—demanded money, and for nine years the work of building stayed. 'Gentlemen, you ought to be sowing this with foundation stones,' Mrs. Benney had said, meeting some of the Cathedral Committee in the space where grass seed had been sown. 'In building your cathedral you have drained Cornwall of money,' someone said to Archbishop Benson. 'But not of zeal,' he replied.¹ From time to time gifts came in for the Cathedral Building Fund, of which the most notable was 5,000*l.* from Canon Wise, of Ladock, who had already given largely.

In 1896 came the Archbishop's sudden death in Hawarden Church. So strong was the bond of affection between him and his Cornish diocese that the canon in residence feared without preparation to speak in the Cathedral of his death, and read instead the prayer for All Saints' Day; and after the service the rumour spread. When the memorial to the Archbishop was begun in London, Canon Thynne and Archdeacon Cornish represented Cornwall, and the continuation of the Cathedral was named as the second form of memorial. Only 2,000*l.*, however, came to Truro from this source, but in the county itself some large gifts were made, notably by Lord Robartes, Lord Mount Edgcumbe and the Bishop. Then, too, the Women's Association was revived, and in May 1897 the foundations of the nave were 'sown.'

In the winter Mr. Pearson died; he had desired to build a church which should 'bring people to their knees'; he had done so. His plans were all prepared, and his son was chosen

¹ *Bishopric*, p. 345.

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to carry them through. A sum of 30,000*l.* was ready, but this would not enable the west towers to be built roof-high. An anonymous Cornish donation of 5,000*l.* was given, and Lord Mount Edgcumbe, announcing a promise of further subscriptions from himself and the Bishop on the completion, made another appeal, which was well responded to, among others by the Prince who had laid the foundation-stone of the cathedral and witnessed the deed of consecration; and before 1900 the sum had risen to the 40,000*l.* which was needed.

It was not intended to continue the central tower beyond the height of the roof; but on the death of the Queen in 1901, Mrs. Arthur Tremayne, president of the Women's Association, suggested that the Victorian Tower should be the Cornish Memorial to the Queen. While gifts were already beginning to come in, Mr. James Hawke Dennis offered to take upon himself the whole expense of this, estimated first at 10,000*l.*, but amounting finally to 15,000*l.* Finally, but two months before the dedication of the nave, an anonymous donor has given 1,000*l.* for the glass of the western rose window.

So it stands for opening this July: a cathedral built by great princely gifts, and small gifts perhaps more royal still; a cathedral enshrining precious memorials from time long past to our own time—memorials dear to the whole nation, dear to Cornwall, or dear to some few who desire to commemorate their dead; built step by step in faith and great desire for the unity of the Church of Christ, thus symbolising, however imperfectly, the true idea of what a church should be:

The saints build up thy fabric,
The Corner Stone is Christ.

Let us turn to ask how it has fared with the spiritual house. For the outward church is the symbol only—'these things *are* the cathedral.'

And first how has the household of the saints been knit together in Cornwall?

In 1878 Bishop Benson wrote: 'If the Church of England dies out, it will begin with this extremity. If she grows

all alive again I am sure this extremity must first be well rubbed with snow.'¹

The characteristic religious difficulty in Cornwall is not so much religious difference as religious emotionalism—the confusion of religious feeling with religion, and the consequent divorce of religion and morality. 'The Lord's lambs must play' is a terrible Cornish saying to record. The Irish Celt is peculiarly free from that sin to which the Cornish Celt is singularly prone. Here is a lesson from experience. The remedy for such temperamental weakness must obviously be found in the fuller comprehension of the objective realities of religion in contrast with subjective emotion; in a greater perception of the mysteries of religion as corrective of exclusive reliance on the individual judgment; a truer grasp of unity as regulative of the great gift of vital spontaneity.

Canon Donaldson's *Retrospect* shows us that the religious spirit of the Cornish down to the time of Henry VIII. was 'undoubtedly strong and keen in its devotion to the Church.' He reminds us of a surprising conservatism in the 'great uprising' against the introduction of the English Prayer Book in the first days of Edward VI., when thousands of Cornish miners marched up to Exeter 'exasperated at the destruction of their beautiful rood-lofts,' and declaring 'we will not receive the new service, because it is like a Christmas game; but we will have our old service of Mattins, Mass, Evensong, and Procession in Latin, not in English.'²

Though the deadness of the eighteenth century fell upon Cornwall too, there were not wanting men like Borlase, whose country congregation numbered 1,000 in the morning and 500 in the evening, and Samuel Walker, under whom the town of Truro 'presented a delightful example of the happy effects which may be produced on a Christian community by our Church's discipline and doctrines wisely enforced and spiritually explained.'³

But far above any other Churchmen in the reawakening of spiritual life in Cornwall must be named of course John and Charles Wesley.

¹ *Life*, i. 441

² *Bishopric*, pp. 9, 10.

³ *Ibid.* p. 12.

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Wesleyanism is not the system of John Wesley. 'It seemed I was got into a den of lions,' he wrote of Deptford. 'Most of the leading men of the society were mad for separating from the Church. . . . I told them, "If you are resolved, you may have your service in Church hours; but remember, from that time you will see my face no more."' ¹ Yet it was long before they entirely defied 'blind old John,' and even now you may hear elderly Cornish folk talk of how under 'Passon ——' the Dissenters used always to attend church.

Much has been said from time to time about the need of dealing with Cornish people according to Cornish methods, and learning our lesson from the Wesleyans. If it is meant that the Cornish not only need, as we all need, true Evangelical teaching, but are quick to detect and judge its absence; or that Cornish emotion must be used, not quenched; that Cornish warmth of feeling must find expression in religion as elsewhere, so that, for instance, meetings for extempore prayer and other 'private means' must find their room within the Church; what Churchman who knows Cornishmen would oppose it? But if it means that storms of religious emotion should take the place for the Cornish of reverence for Sacramental mystery, that teaching of Church principles must give way to some extent in deference to individualist tendencies, then indeed opinions will differ. The description of a 'pretty little revival up to X——; stools and books were flying all over the chapel' may amuse or disgust; but the fight of two girls as to which received more grace at her conversion may somewhat prepare us to hear that 'the confusion of sensual excitement with religious passion is awful: the immoralities of revivals simply appalling.'

In this matter there was no wavering in the mind of the first Bishop of Truro; it was steady Church work that Cornwall needed—not dull work nor routine work, but united and disciplined work. Out through the remote parts, where isolated men worked hard-pressed and faithful, or despondent and sometimes failing, the Cathedral centre was to radiate support and vitality.

Canon Donaldson enumerates the principal spheres of the

¹ *Bishopric*, p. 223.

activity of the Bishop: '(1) Education, and specially the training of the clergy; (2) awakening of the spiritual life of the people in Church-like fashion, through parochial missions and kindred agencies; (3) organization of the diocese, by the unifying and inspiring influences of a cathedral.'¹

But even if these topics must be treated to some extent separately, we cannot regard them as in any sense independent; the Cathedral was to be the centre of Church life in the diocese; education and mission work were the chief channels of Church work, important functions of the Cathedral body. The Bishop's educational interest, indeed, was not limited to the direct work of the Cathedral body, as the foundation of the Truro High School for Girls and the scheme for the old Grammar School would testify; but the first foundation in Truro which he urged was the theological college, and the work of the Chancellor included not only his work with the Scholae Cancellarii, but his Cathedral lectures and sermons. In the advent of 1878 the Bishop himself preached a course of sermons on the Holy Communion, and it is curiously startling, with all the associations Wesley's name bears, to look back at his Sacramental hymns, which the Bishop printed for these occasions, and to read such lines as

'The Altar streams with sacred blood
And all the Temple flames with God.'

The idea of mission work has of course greatly changed during the last quarter of a century. Bishop Benson's intention was that there should be a body of preachers to take the work of the old prebendaries, 'preaching up and down the diocese, seconding, aiding, enforcing the work of the parish priest.' It was from this body that mission preaching was to come. 'Sometimes the mission took the form of itinerant work, the missionaries passing from parish to parish, holding outdoor services at different centres. At other times the Canon Missioner would stay in a parish, and visit from house to house, and now and again take charge of a flock, in the absence of a pastor or during a vacancy.'² The relation

¹ *Bishopric*, p. 63.

² *Ibid.* pp. 86, 87.

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of this mission preaching to Wesleyan revivals, as they then were, and even to some extent are still, can only be touched upon—'these people want rousing to tranquillity' will perhaps sufficiently give the keynote of the difference.

But while the new energies were at work, reawakening and building up, how did it fare with the diocesan work which centres more particularly in the direct relation of the Bishop with his diocese? The *Life* well describes the loneliness in the midst of opposition in which many of the clergy of Cornwall were working, and even now to some extent are working—and the opposition was not in all cases lessened, but rather brought out by the new vitality which from the Cathedral centre was communicating itself to Church work. The Archdeacon of Bodmin points out in his last Charge that the number of Confirmation candidates in 1882 (the end of Dr. Benson's episcopate) was 1575, less than the average of 1870-72, the beginning of Dr. Temple's episcopate, when it stands at 1699. Canon Donaldson quotes the Bishop's diary after some of the later Confirmations:

'There had been steady organized opposition to Confirmation on the part of the Methodists in every one of my thirty or forty centres. Revivals, denunciations, and individual dealings with our candidates . . . in some places the candidates confided to the clergy that they could not at present face the persecution in the farms and workshops. . . .'¹

We speak lightly of persecution now, as meaning ridicule, but at times it meant something more. Bishop Benson used to repeat a story told him by a clergyman who had been exhorting a woman candidate not to mind what people said. 'Oh, I don't mind the words,' she answered; '*but I am sometimes afraid of the stones.*'

But, indeed, in the beginning of his episcopate the Bishop was not too desirous of numerical results—a far greater test is the character of the candidates who were presented:

'I have been surprised with the number of elderly people coming to Confirmation. . . . At G—a weeping farmer of the congregation asked me, "Did you ever before have such old men with such tender little things beside them kneeling to be confirmed together?"'²

¹ *Bishopric*, p. 134.

² *Ibid.* p. 133.

. . . At St. Erth confirmed thirty-three people, nearly all adults, and all but two of them men !¹

We have spoken on the connexion of the work of the laity with the clergy ; but it was not their work only but their counsel which was desired. 'The English laity,' Bishop Benson said later, 'have on some questions a *vox decisiva*, and on almost all a *vox deliberativa*.'

The ancient office of rural dean has, Canon Donaldson reminds us, been kept up without a break in the old diocese of Exeter alone, and under Bishop Temple ruridecanal conferences of laity with clergy had come into being, but the laity were there informally, and by invitation. Under Bishop Benson's episcopate conferences became universal, and the lay representatives were elected at parochial meetings. Of one of them he notes : 'There were but a dozen able to attend at so inconvenient a season. But they were of every rank—from a banker to a farmer's son and a seaman.'²

In the encouragement of Mr. Wilkinson's frequent presence as examining chaplain and Canon of St. Petroc, the work had gone forward in earlier years. With his intense spirituality and deep belief in the power of prayer, he was now, as bishop, to enter more fully into the work and turn the stream into the channels already dug. Bishop Wilkinson instituted almost at once a fresh diocesan branch of lay work—the Sisterhood of the Epiphany, which had begun under him in London, was transferred to Truro, and has developed there. There had been before in the diocese one sisterhood—the Home of St. Faith at Lostwithiel. But the work at Alverton was on rather different lines—it was a diocesan community ; 'the special object,' the Bishop said, 'I hope to accomplish by their instrumentality is the developing and deepening of woman's work in the diocese.'³

At this time also an annual diocesan retreat for clergy was established. But apart from these special works, over and above the Bishop's personal effect on each individual with whom he had to deal, or the power with which as a

¹ *Bishopric*, p. 134.

² *Ibid.* p. 153.

³ *Ibid.* p. 221.

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preacher he did not so much impress a definite thought as bring a spiritual atmosphere round his hearers, his special work was to bring all arrangements with regard to the Cathedral into working order. There was no endowment fund for the Cathedral, and though much voluntary service was given from the first, it was not until 1897 that, after continual pressure the Archdeaconry of Cornwall Act released 200*l.* from the Exeter Canonry for the maintenance of fabric and services; but for thirteen years the Cathedral Union, founded under Bishop Wilkinson, had raised between four and five hundred a year for these purposes. Even yet the endowment of the Chapter is sorely needed.

From the first the Cathedral had, in spite of the lack of endowment, begun to take its place as the centre of the diocese. From the octave services of the opening there grew later a diocesan choral union, and soon other societies of Church workers began to hold their annual gatherings at the Cathedral.

'On these occasions, surprising efforts are made by the more distant parishes to send up their representatives to the cathedral city. If choristers or Church workers from the rugged cliffs by Tintagel and the north coast, or the Land's End, or from the moorland parishes between Bodmin and Launceston, from the porths and coves of the Lizard district and south coast, or from the borderland of the Tamar banks, desire to take their place along with the miners of Redruth and Camborne, and the townsfolk of Falmouth and Penzance, in some great Church gathering, it often involves rising with the sun and returning home after midnight, tired out with a long day's journey, but cheered and refreshed by a great act of common worship, and a joyous sense of fellowship. The Cathedral, in fact, has in fifteen years become a real centre and rallying-point for Cornish Church-people.'¹

One such festival, the writer has heard an old Cornish woman—Mary Munday, of Mullion, whose name is known to many—describe in a sort of rapture. She had spoken of Bishop Benson's death—'from prayer here to prayer in heaven, from Church militant to Church triumphant;' and she burst into a sort of ecstasy, speaking of the 'Great I AM

¹ *Bishopric*, p. 124.

above the worlds,' with the angels speeding on His errands. One scene which had kindled her imagination was such a choral festival in the Cathedral, with the beauty of the music, the building, and the singers in their 'white surples' who seemed to her like heavenly choirs.

Bishop Benson spoke not only of the praise but of the prayer and intercession which was to 'rise like a fountain night and day' from the cathedral. 'Constantly,' Canon Donaldson writes, 'requests for prayer and praise are sent up from many parts of the diocese, and even from beyond its borders.' During the present episcopate, in the national stress and calamity of war, Truro Cathedral was the central point in the diocese at which weekly a service of intercession was held. And now when the last effort for the completion of the cathedral church is coming to an end, it remains to ask how the cathedral idea is still working, and if it is still a vital centre of unity.

Dr. Gott on entering the episcopate made a change about which there have been anxious questionings. He moved the seat of the bishop from the cathedral city to Trenyhton, near Parr, which he felt to be a better railway centre for the county, desiring, as he said, both to be able to afford more thorough hospitality than Lis Escop with its limited dimensions permitted, and also to be personally more in touch with all parts of the diocese. But if the cathedral idea is to be carried through, it must be questioned whether a railway centre can really be a better basis of operation for the bishop than the cathedral city, which was to be the true centre of the diocese. Moreover, in this case the non-resident bishop means also a non-resident dean—and in the desire for a larger hospitality elsewhere it is somewhat serious for the bishop to be cut off from exercising hospitality in his cathedral city.

We have heard something lately of the 'pathos' and 'gravity' of the present situation in Cornwall, asserting that the revival of the last quarter of the century is beginning to die down. Is there any element of truth in this?

One failure in the working out of the cathedral idea is evident. In spite of the influence of two able chancellors

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the theological college has dwindled and is now empty. It would be rash to suggest from what cause this arises while not only in the English but in other Churches there is a general scarcity of candidates for the ministry; but it is mournful that a cathedral of which this was to be so important a point could not have been made a rallying ground. But Archdeacon Du Boulay, while noting this point of failure, has made the maintenance of reawakened Church life in Cornwall the subject of his archidiaconal Charge this year. Taking figures of the years 1878, 1888, 1898, he shows that though the number of children on Sunday school books sank by 300 in the last ten years, it is still more than 3,000 higher than in 1878; } that the numbers of licensed lay assistants have risen steadily, and nearly doubled during this period (61, as against 32). That churches with weekly Eucharist and daily services numbered 27 in 1878, 67 in 1888, and 129 in 1898. But has he inquired how far these services are attended? The zeal of the clergy has increased, but has there been a corresponding response on the part of the laity? It must be borne in mind, the Archdeacon adds, that the population of the diocese has been steadily on the down grade all through the period in question, decreasing by some 11,000 since the census of 1881. All authorities testify to the excellence of the church fabrics in Cornwall, and further, since the census of 1881, 'I might point to new churches built and old churches restored and beautified,' says the Archdeacon, 'I might point to something like 100 mission chapels and rooms newly built, and used for worship and for classes.'

Canon Donaldson deals with some other figures for the years 1894 and 1901. The number of communicants given in visitation returns has risen from 11,374 to 13,803. The Church schools, too, slightly increased between 1881 and 1891, though their proportion of children to that of Board schools has diminished. These figures can, of course, only deal with externals. Spiritual progress may not be appraised in figures, as the Archdeacon reminds us. But it is a great thing when the Bishop's visitation of 1896 brings out the fact that it is believed that the great majority of those confirmed during the past few years were persevering communicants.

Even the money given to Church purposes must be in some sense a sign of devotion and of ardent care. That the Church expenditure of the ten years from 1884 to 1894 included not only over 97,000*l.* for the Cathedral, but over 529,000*l.* for other objects as well, is astonishing when we remember that the population of Cornwall averaged, in the decade, about three hundred and thirty thousand.

Thus the Archdeacon concludes that if there is no ground for satisfaction or for boasting, there is none for depression, still less for despair; but true ground for encouragement and renewed effort. As the foundations of Truro Cathedral were laid in hope, in hope may the gates be set up.

But does the question touch Cornwall alone? Those things which Bishop Benson felt to point to 'the reconstruction upon a liberal and popular basis of the cathedral system' are still here. Can we deny that his fear of an increasing alienation between clergy and educated laity was groundless? If the Church of England is suffering from disintegration, pronouncements, and even patience, will not save her: constructive action is necessary. No doubt construction—diocesan, national, and even international—has been taking place; but it remains to be asked if the cathedrals have taken their full share in it, or whether their opportunity is yet passed.

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ART. X.—CHURCH AUTONOMY AND A NATIONAL COUNCIL.

1. *Essays on Church Reform.* Edited by CHARLES GORE, M.A., D.D., now Lord Bishop of Worcester. (London: John Murray, 1898.)
2. *The Church and Reform.* Edited by the LORD BISHOP OF LIVERPOOL. (London: Bemrose and Sons, 1902).
3. *Report of the Joint Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury on The Position of the Laity.* (London: S.P.C.K., 1902.)
4. *The Position of the Laity in the Church.* By the Right Rev. Bishop BARRY. 'The Church Outlook' series. (London: Elliot Stock, 1903.)
5. *Church Reform League.* Pamphlets and Leaflets.

THE questions of Church Autonomy and a National Council have now passed out of the region of abstract discussion. They are advancing, and that rapidly, towards a practical solution; and it is of infinite importance that such solution should be right in principle and wise in policy. Therefore it seems clear that the time is come when all thoughtful Churchmen should consider them and make up their minds upon them, see on what points there is a virtual *consensus* of opinion, and examine the crucial points on which differences of principle may arise. It will be the object of this Article, after brief notice of the principles involved, to set before our readers the present position of these questions, and note the various steps by which that position has been reached.

I. The two questions are practically all but inseparable. There is an all but universal sense of the urgent necessity for some real Church Autonomy—gladly recognizing, on the one hand, the position of our Church as a National Church, bound to represent a National Christianity and to give spiritual service and guidance to the whole community—forced to recognize, on the other, that the old theory of the co-extensiveness of the nation and of the Church, which so

much of Church law still implies, is simply a thing of the past, and that there is a large element of English Christianity which stands in a position of separation—a separation tending to glide into antagonism—in relation to the Church. Such autonomy is felt to be absolutely necessary for Church Reform, Church Unity, and Church Progress. For Church Reform: for no one can doubt that there are abuses for which Church Reform is urgently needed—abuses which arise in great measure from our being bound to a system now in many points obsolete, and needing accordingly to be adapted to altered conditions by the same authority which created it. For Church Unity: for the want of some central constitutional authority obviously tends to intestine confusion and strife, through individual vagary in thought and practice, and through the abnormal power of irresponsible party associations. For Church Progress: for it is impossible for the Church, in the absence of such authority, to make the adaptations, and to venture on the developments of thought and practice, which are needed, if she is to face the problems and to seize the opportunities of what are acknowledged to be critical times. The counsel which is given us from various quarters, to adhere closely to the Prayer Book, is unquestionably a wise counsel, and especially valuable for the present distress. It is a striking proof of the wisdom and comprehensiveness of our Prayer Book, and its true embodiment of Catholic and Scriptural principles, that, after some 240 years since its last revision, it can still offer us a broad standing ground of unity, on which there is so much room for needful variety and novelty. From its essential principles the great mass of our Church people have no wish to depart. But in respect of their practical application both to doctrine and to worship, and even of some of the forms in which they are expressed, it is clear that there is need of some living authority to deal, under modern conditions of thought and knowledge, with needs and problems of which the age of the Restoration in 1662 could have no possible conception.¹ All other religious bodies in the

¹ The need of some regulated and authorized elasticity of such application has been brought home to us very forcibly by the recent

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country have such autonomy within certain reasonable limits. The example of the Established Church in Scotland shows not only that it is compatible with Establishment, but that by securing vitality and good government in the Church, it increases the efficiency of that service to the nation which it is the object of Establishment to secure. It is felt that the Church in England has not only a right to claim it for itself, and to assert that claim in its relation to the State, but that it is to the interest of the nation itself that there should be some means of knowing what the voice of the Church really is, on the great social, moral, and religious questions which concern the highest welfare of the people.¹

But it is asked, How shall this autonomy be secured? And to this question there is an almost equally universal consensus of answer from various and opposite quarters. It is clear that it must be exercised in the name of the whole body; and, unless we are prepared to accept the despotic authority of an Infallible Head, to whom all the members of the body must implicitly submit, the only alternative is that of a constitutional government, in which all members of the Church in their right orders and degrees have a voice of power and responsibility. This voice can express itself, so far as Church legislation and even some parts of Church administration are concerned, only through Councils, parochial, diocesan, provincial, and national. And in these Councils, after careful consideration of the whole subject, both ideally and historically, it is now all but universally acknowledged that the laity must in some way be united with the clergy under Episcopal direction—such co-ordination being, to use Bishop Westcott's emphatic words, quoted by Bishop Barry (p. 267), 'not simply a provision to meet controversies as to the use of Incense, the practice of Reservation, and the admissibility of Memorial Prayer for the Dead in our Public Services. A glance at the *Life of Father Dolling* shows how especially this is needed where the work of our Church is largely Evangelistic.

¹ The experience of the recent discussions and struggles over the Education Bill must, we think, make it evident that the want of some authoritative declaration for the whole body of the Church has placed Parliament itself in a position of great disadvantage.

impending dangers . . . not simply an effective organization for aggressive work . . . but a natural development of life, or rather the resumption of an interrupted development.'

II. The realization of this idea of Church autonomy through representative Church Councils is now fully secured in all branches of the Anglican Communion abroad. There it has grown up by a gradual but increasing development which has proved its 'practicability,' and yielded experience of its advantages and its drawbacks. Towards it there have been imperfect and tentative approaches made in England during the last fifty years. The most important of these was the revival of the Convocations from their long unconstitutional abeyance in 1847. They are, so far as the clergy are concerned, 'the Church of England by representation'; and since their revival they have, under great difficulties and not infrequent discouragements, done much to vindicate their true position; they have given wise and effective counsel, formed and led public Church opinion on many important subjects by valuable reports and resolutions, and prepared the way for a more complete Church representation in the future. But they are confessed to be imperfect representatives even of the great body of the clergy; the preponderance of the official element is excessive; the unbeneficed clergy have no share in their election. Their division, moreover, into the two independent Provincial Assemblies of Canterbury and York—natural enough in the old days, and of great historical interest—is now simply an encumbrance and a hindrance to effective action. Only by a pardonable evasion of strict law have they been able of late to meet, not as Houses of Convocation, but as Convocation Committees of the whole Houses. That they need themselves to be reformed in their constitution, and to be united when desirable in one national Synod, is admitted on all hands. But, even when this is done, the fundamental difficulty will still remain. They are by their nature purely clerical bodies, and therefore they cannot under our present conditions meet the demand for full Church representation. In old times they were virtually co-ordinated with Parliament, then including indeed the bishops and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, but in

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the main a representative assembly of lay Churchmen. Now, with the change in the constitution of Parliament, that co-ordination has ceased to exist in anything like its original perfection. On such Church legislation as can be carried through our modern Parliament, the opinion of Convocation is mostly expressed, and so expressed it must, as a rule, carry weight; and ought perhaps to carry more weight than it does. But it cannot at any time have the power which would belong to a representative assembly of the whole Church; and at times of anti-clerical feeling it is apt to be regarded with an unreasonable jealousy. Accordingly, after our English fashion, we have tried by cautious tentative steps to supply the acknowledged defect. Some years ago, with full assent of the Convocations, it was wisely resolved to associate with them Houses of elected laymen, so as to obtain some approach to an expression of the public opinion and desires of the Church at large. And this association may be considered as the crowning provision of the system of Ruridecanal and Diocesan Conferences, in which clergy and laity are united for counsel. But all these steps, valuable as they are, are still obviously inadequate. To say nothing of the intolerable cumbrousness of proceeding arising from the necessity of consulting six distinct bodies—the two Houses of each Convocation and the two Houses of Laymen—the all-important matter is that in all these assemblies the lay members have no constitutional position and power. They can express opinion, and no wise man will ignore the moral force of opinion; but beyond this they cannot go; and, perhaps in consequence, they are hardly looked upon in the eyes of the world as an effective representation of the laity of the Church. Accordingly, both by their value and by their inadequacy, they are leading men to see, more and more clearly, the necessity of a true representative assembly of the whole body.

For we have begun to see more clearly that the merely negative definition of a layman, as one not in Holy Orders, and that other definition used in common parlance, which is often confused with this, as one who is (*ιδιώτης*) not an expert in theological and ecclesiastical lore, are plainly insufficient. The

laity, as their name implies, are the mass of the *laós*—the people of God—and as such, while having no right to assume or to trench upon the sacredness of the Ministry, they have positive rights and duties in the Church, not merely in their individual capacity, but as having a share in its corporate life. Nor can their interest and responsibility be limited to questions of the temporalities of the Church. No one can well doubt that this is the view expressed or implied in every page of the Apostolic history and Apostolic teaching in the New Testament. It depends not on the exact interpretation of the history of the Council at Jerusalem, all-important as that history is, but on the general tone and tenour of the whole. There is a constant appeal to 'the saints,' 'the brethren,' 'the whole Church,' in respect of Church organization, Church discipline, Church doctrine, while at the same time the distinctive authority and leadership of 'the apostles and elders,' the 'bishops and deacons,' 'set over them in the Lord,' are clearly and unhesitatingly recognised. The realization of this ideal, as in all constitutional government, is necessarily a matter of great difficulty, liable to practical imperfections and logical inconsistencies, from which narrower systems are, or appear to be, free. Hence, as might have been expected, it has varied greatly as to clearness and effectiveness in actual Church history at different times, under different exigencies. As the Report of the Convocation Committee shows strikingly enough (pp. 25–37), it was interfered with after the conversion of the Empire by assumptions on the one hand of Imperial power, absorbing and superseding the rights of the faithful laity, and by development on the other of growing clerical authority, of which the Papal autocracy was to be the culmination. In the Provincial and General Councils of the Early and Middle Ages, although presbyters and deacons and laymen were often present, the Bishops alone appear to have pronounced judgment, as sufficient representatives of the whole body of the Church, by which indeed they were chosen. But the true ideal, obscured, but never lost, is the one expressed in the well-known Cyprianic formula (which, whatever its immediate application may have been, is clearly one of

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general principle), asserting strongly episcopal leadership, but 'doing nothing without the counsel of the presbyters and the consent of the laity.' How that consent should be given, whether by the 'diffusive voice' of acceptance, recognized as essential even for Conciliar decrees, or by consultation in the earlier stages of Church action, is not a matter of principle. For it is not, as Mr. Keble said long ago, '*prima facie* essential at what stage that voice is permitted to be heard.'¹ No one supposes that in earlier days, before that full development of the representative system in all government which is characteristic of advanced civilization, it expressed itself systematically through such formal and balanced representation as is now proposed in England, and fully organized in the other Churches of the Anglican Communion. But this, again, is a matter of detail, not of essential principle. And in our own Church, from Anglo-Saxon times downwards, the union of laity with clergy in matters ecclesiastical and civil certainly assumed an unusual development, not without irregularities and occasional conflicts, and in the Reformation settlement of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was a leading and determining principle. To re-assert it, *mutatis mutandis*—now that Parliament has ceased to be an assembly of lay Churchmen and the position of the Crown has changed by the growth of Parliamentary supremacy—is certainly to accord not only with primitive Church order generally, but with Anglican traditions in particular. For it takes for granted that regulated and limited independence of 'particular or National Churches' which the Church of England so emphatically claims in Art. XXXIV. It is therefore hardly surprising that in our present critical position some such re-assertion should be urged by various schools and parties in our Church.

III. The list of works prefixed to this Article is in itself full of significance. The *Essays on Church Reform*, edited by the Bishop of Worcester, may be fairly taken to represent the great body of High Church opinion. The Essays on

¹ See the quotation by Dr. Bright from Keble's *Spiritual Letters* (p. 296) given in a footnote to the Convocation Committee's Report, p. 21.

Church and Reform, edited by the Bishop of Liverpool, may similarly be accepted as indicating the opinions of at least a large proportion of the 'Evangelical School.' The remarkable Report on *The Position of the Laity*, by the Joint Committee of the Convocation of Canterbury¹ (which is understood to be substantially approved by the corresponding committee of the Convocation of York), makes or marks an epoch in the discussion of the subject—not only examining it in relation to the Apostolic Ideal of the Church, but tracing briefly its historical developments in the Church in general, and in our own branch of the Western Church in particular. The volume in the 'Outlook Series' on *The Position of the Laity in the Church*, by Bishop Barry (himself the secretary of the Convocation Committee), follows, though in great part independently, the same course of investigation, and brings out more fully the relation of the subject to 'the Anglican position,' both in the Church of England and in the other Churches of the Anglican Communion. The various publications of the Church Reform League—singularly representative of various schools and sections of the Church—have helped greatly to create and to elicit a general public opinion in this same direction.² The subject has been discussed, and resolutions for a National Council carried, in various Diocesan Conferences. It has recently been fully considered in the two Convocations, in the joint meetings of the Convocations in committee, by the Houses of Laymen, severally and jointly, and by the joint meetings of the Convocations and the Houses of Laymen together. And it is notable and infinitely significant that, while on points of detail there are variations which mark independence, yet on the main

¹ The Report (with an Appendix) is now published in a cheap and convenient form by S.P.C.K.

² It is notable that in the recent Declaration of High Churchmen and others on Ecclesiastical Authority, which has received nearly 4,000 signatures, this emphatic Resolution is included: 'We desire to express our belief that the future welfare of the English Church largely depends, under God, on the complete restoration of the Synodical action of the Church. We should, therefore, welcome any measures for promoting this end which may be taken constitutionally, safeguarding the duties and rights of clergy and laity alike.'

principles, and even on the most important points of practical method, there is a singularly complete unanimity. Finally, it was announced that a series of propositions on the subject, suggested by the Upper House of the Southern Convocation on May 12, 1903, approved by the Lower House on May 13, was to be submitted during the present month to a joint meeting of the two Convocations in committee and the two Houses of Laymen for full discussion, and, if approved, to be passed on to a smaller representative committee to deal with matters of detail and of practical method.

As these last propositions seem to embody the result of all the preliminary discussions and suggestions, it may be well to give them *in extenso*.

'That His Grace the President be requested, in conjunction with the President of the Northern Convocation, to submit to the Joint Meeting of the Members of Convocation and of the Houses of Laymen, in July next, the following propositions as embodying principles upon which that Joint Meeting should make a pronouncement with a view to such pronouncement being subsequently considered in the Convocations of the two Provinces.

'That whereas it is desirable that provision should be made for the calling together of a Council representing the Church of England, and consisting of Clergy and Laity of the Provinces of Canterbury and York :

- '1. Such steps should be taken as may prove to be necessary for the reform of the two Convocations, and for their sitting together from time to time as one body ;
- '2. That statutory authority should be given empowering the Archbishops to summon provincial Houses of Laymen to be associated with the Houses of Convocation, either separately in each province, or for joint session as a Council ;
- '3. That this Council should be divided into three Houses : the first that of Bishops, the second that of representatives of the Clergy (Official and Elected), and the third that of elected Laymen ; and that acceptance by the three Houses, sitting together or separately, should be necessary in order to constitute an act of the whole body ;
- '4. That in regard to the basis of representation of the Laity, one or other of the following proposals shall be affirmed :
'*Either* 1. The electors shall be of full age, and have been

Baptized and Confirmed, and shall declare in writing that they are *bona fide* Members of the Church of England;

'Or 2. The initial franchise of Lay Electors should be exercised, in each Ecclesiastical Parish or District, by such of the persons qualified to vote at the Election of Churchwardens in or for the Parish or District as declare themselves in writing to be Lay Members of the Church of England and of no other religious Communion, and are not legally and actually excluded from Communion; and by such other persons residing in the Parish or District as are Lay Communicants of the Church of England of the male sex and of full age.

'5. That representatives elected by the Lay Electors shall be Communicants.

'In the event of the foregoing propositions or other propositions of similar purport being accepted, it should be moved—

'6. That a Committee of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity be appointed to prepare a Scheme in further detail. Such Scheme to show—

- '1. The relations of the Convocations (as now existing or as reformed) to the proposed Council;
2. The manner of electing members of the proposed Council;
- '3. The manner in which business shall come before the proposed Council for consideration.'¹

In view of the progress of opinion marked in all these pronouncements, and especially in these last propositions, it has been not unfairly said that the question before Churchmen at this moment is 'not so much whether self-government of the Church through representation of the whole body is to be aimed at, but rather by what methods and under what conditions it is to be attained.'

IV. For it will be observed on attentive study of these propositions, that they start with a distinct and all important assumption—viz. that 'it is desirable that provision should be made for calling together' what has been in

¹ This paper has now been approved by the two Archbishops and was issued in their names, to be discussed in joint meeting, which was held on July 9 and 10, 1903, just as we were going to press.

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these discussions known as a 'National Council'¹—that is 'a Council representing the Church of England and consisting of clergy and laity of the Provinces of Canterbury and York.' The preamble must be taken to imply that the institution of such a Council has passed the stage of abstract discussion as to principle, and is ripe for the more practical stage of actual provision for its formation. That preamble will, of course, have to be considered and accepted or rejected at the joint meeting in July. But it has been in substance expressly accepted by the two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury and by the Canterbury House of Laymen, and it is understood to have been approved by implication by the corresponding bodies in the Northern Province. It can hardly be supposed that they will reject jointly what they have already accepted separately.²

In order to carry out this preamble, it is proposed, first, that 'such steps as prove to be necessary shall be taken for the reform of the two Convocations, and for their sitting together from time to time as one body.' What these steps must be is left for future consideration. In 'The Convocations

¹ The name itself is, of course, of secondary importance; but it is understood to have been adopted by the Convocation Committee as having precedent in the early history of our Church.

² It may be well to note here the Resolution passed by the Lower House of the Southern Convocation on July 9, 1902: 'That it is desirable that, without traversing in any way the historic position and rights of Convocation, a representative assembly of laymen, duly elected and possessing statutory authority, shall be formed in each of the two provinces, and so associated with Convocation that in either province the Archbishop shall summon the House of Laymen to consult and debate with the Houses of Convocation; and that the two Archbishops acting together shall, as occasion requires, gather all the Houses of the Provinces for a joint session as a National Church Council.'

It was resolved by the Canterbury House of Laymen on the same day: 'That it is desirable that a National Church Council should be formed consisting of clergy and laity of the Church of England, according to a due system of representation.'

It is understood that this last Resolution has been in substance approved by the Northern Convocation and House of Laymen; and it is certainly taken for granted in the Joint meetings of the Northern and Southern Provinces which have dealt with the qualifications of electors and elected members in July 1902.

of the Clergy Bill,' already framed and brought forward in Parliament, it was, after careful consideration and legal advice, suggested that it would be necessary to have from Parliament a Declaratory Act as to the power of the Convocations to reform themselves, and an Enabling Act to empower them to sit together as one body. But, however this may prove to be, it is on all hands allowed that this reform and union of the Convocations is the first step to be taken. It ought not to be difficult to take it.

Next it is proposed 'to give statutory authority to the Archbishops to summon Provincial Houses of (elected) Laymen, to be associated with the Convocations either separately in each Province or for joint Session in a Council.' The effect of this provision is to give to the future Houses of Laymen that constitutional position which the present Houses of Laymen do not possess, and which must be secured for those who are to be authoritative representatives of the laity. With the Convocations separately they would form Provincial Councils like those which exist in the Colonial Churches, and with the Convocations united they would form a National Council of the whole Church of England. What the relations of these Provincial Councils should be to the reformed Convocations as Provincial Synods of the clergy and to the proposed National Council is to be determined hereafter. But there ought to be no insuperable difficulty as to this determination. The machinery, still complicated, will probably simplify itself in action. The one practical difficulty which seems to present itself is the large size of these Provincial and National Councils. In the Colonial Churches generally, while the Diocesan Synods are large, it is the practice to form the Higher Synods (Provincial or General) by delegation, and so to secure manageable size and by it practical efficiency, and to secure also picked men—presumably the best qualified—for membership of the higher councils of the Church. Whether this might not have been the best method in the abstract for the Church at home may perhaps be doubted. But it is apparently the object of the proposal actually made to act 'along the line of least resistance' by using, as far as possible, existing materials, and preserving

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much of the old organization. For in dealing with matters touching the constitution of the Church itself, it is obviously desirable to maintain as far as may be continuity with the past, and to avoid even the appearance of superseding institutions of time-honoured antiquity.

The next provision requiring the concurrence of all three Houses—the House of Bishops, the House of Clerical Representatives, and the House of Laymen—for any act of the Provincial and National Councils, is one of great importance. It may be added that it is the all but universal rule in the other Churches of the Anglican Communion. For it will reassure those who fear rash innovation, and especially those who shrink from the discussion by the laity of matters of Church ritual and Church doctrine. It would appear indeed from experience in the other Churches that it is probably a mistake to fear such innovation from representatives of lay opinion. With a few rather pronounced exceptions, it is found that lay opinion is largely, sometimes excessively, conservative. But still it is satisfactory to know that no important change or development can take place without the consent of the bishops and the clergy, who are the natural guardians of Church doctrine and order, and who have, in virtue of their ministerial commission, an acknowledged leadership and responsibility in all that concerns them. It is important also to observe the provision that the Houses may ‘sit together or separately.’ For while it is most desirable and even necessary that under certain contingencies and for certain purposes there should be the right of separate sessions, especially for the bishops, it is again a matter of experience elsewhere that joint session is of great value, not only in expediting business, but in preventing collision between the orders as such, and enabling them to exercise a right influence upon one another. On this provision there will probably be little or no difference of opinion.

The last provision (No. 4) touches the great crucial question, What are to be the qualifications of a layman as such?

Now, in regard to the actual lay members of the Provincial and National Councils there is an all but universal

agreement that, as in the great majority of other Anglican Churches, they shall be professed Communicant members of the Church of England—men (that is) who have entered into the fulness of Church membership, in obedience to the command of our Lord Himself.

But, in regard to the qualification of electors of these representatives, there are two alternative proposals to be submitted, of which the former embodies the resolutions of the joint meeting of the Convocations in Committee on July 9, 1902, and the other a resolution of the joint meeting of the two Houses of Laymen on July 10. The former of these proposals is the simpler and more definite. It requires that they shall have been not only baptized but confirmed, and, therefore, qualified for full Communion; and that they shall declare themselves to be *bona fide* members of the Church of England—members (that is) not merely legally and technically, as it may be contended that all baptized Englishmen still are, but really and with conscious acceptance of membership. The latter declaration is more complex. It provides that they shall be persons, men or women—having the old residential and rate-paying qualification in each parish, which entitles them to vote at the election of churchwardens—‘who shall declare themselves in writing to be lay members of the Church of England, and of no other religious Communion, and who ‘are not legally and actually excluded from her Communion.’ The meaning of the last phrase is, we think, somewhat ambiguous; but in virtue of the Rubric at the close of the Confirmation Office it is probably intended to require in general the qualification of Confirmation, and so far it agrees with the other proposal. But it adds also to those thus qualified any who have been, even if irregularly in defect of Confirmation, admitted to Communion. Only in this case, perhaps not very logically, it requires that they should be of the male sex, fearing (it is understood) that otherwise the men might be swamped by the greater number of female communicants.

There will probably be not inconsiderable discussion over these alternative proposals, and any suggestions, which are not unlikely to be made, of amalgamation or compromise

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between them. But in their main principles they appear to be at one. They both first recognize the plain necessity of requiring a declaration of *bona fide* membership of the Church of England. To this we know that a twofold objection will be raised, first, on the ground that it is inconsistent with the position of our Church as a National Church, and (as it has been put) 'narrows it to the position of a sect.' Next, on the ground that it tends to accentuate the division between our Church and the other Communions of English Christianity. But neither of these grounds of objection seem to be really substantial. As to the former, we cannot but think that this contention involves a simple anachronism of idea, and refuses to acknowledge the facts and needs of these modern days, in which so many English Christians by their own act stand outside the limits of her Communion. As a National Church she must open her doors freely to all, and acknowledge her own obligation of service and ministry to all. But, in respect of her government, her ritual, her doctrine, she has surely a right to demand that they only shall have a share in determining them who give their adhesion to them, and honestly and deliberately accept the duties and responsibilities of a true Church membership. In regard to the second contention, it may be rightly answered that it is not only untrue but the reverse of the truth. For whatever may be the prospects of any 'Home Reunion,' on such conditions as the Lambeth Conference has twice laid down, it is clear that it cannot be even considered, except by some body which can claim to represent the Church of England, in conference with the representative bodies of the other religious Communions. Without such representative authority the hindrances, legal and actual, to the establishment of even a *modus vivendi*—mitigating, where it cannot remove, the divisions which splinter up our English Christianity—cannot possibly be dealt with.

Accordingly we cannot but hold that such a declaration of *bona fide* membership, which will be in the great majority far from unmeaning or inoperative, is absolutely essential. The only question really is whether it is sufficient for us in England, as it appears to be held to be sufficient in the great majority of the sister and daughter Churches. For their case

is not complicated by the fact of Establishment, and the consequences, actual or ideal, which it brings with it. Accordingly both proposals go on to require something more. The first plainly, the second by apparent implication, require as a rule the qualification of Confirmation, as, on the one hand, the entrance on the fulness of the grace of Church membership, and, on the other, the conscious and deliberate acceptance of its obligations. On this most important matter we see no reason for departing in any way from the opinion in favour of this provision expressed in our issue of January 1902. For no test of true membership could be more thoroughly accordant with sound Church principle and with our own Church order. It seems to us most unlikely that it would lead any to present themselves for Confirmation simply as a qualification for the franchise, and so impair its sacredness and spiritual reality. Nay, if it should induce our people to appreciate more correctly the position of Confirmation as the 'completion of Holy Baptism,' as involving no exceptional religious profession, but as being the normal condition of all who have been baptized and have come to 'years of discretion,' and desire to enter into full Church membership, this would be, as it appears to us, an additional recommendation for its adoption. We rejoice, therefore, to see that so near an accordance upon it has been arrived at by the representative bodies of our clergy and laity; and probably no one will object to that relaxation of the requirement in exceptional cases, which is recognized in the lay declaration on the subject. How far it would be accepted by the great body of lay Churchmen, it is not as yet easy to conclude. But it is well that in this matter the right ideal should be put forward. Whatever may be the conclusion on this matter, the important fact remains that by whomsoever chosen, the lay members of our Councils themselves will at any rate be full Communicant members of the body, and if the members of the Provincial and National Councils are chosen, as they probably will be, by the Diocesan Councils, the ultimate electors also will have the same qualification.

These four proposals clearly go very far to the root of the

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matter. If they are adopted in substance, we shall see at last a practical conclusion from those long and careful discussions of this momentous subject which have gone on for so many years. The decision of the Joint meeting upon them in July will be one of immense importance to the welfare of the Church, and we may well strive and pray for God's blessing upon it. It is, moreover, a sign of the good sense and practical resolution of the Convocations which drew up and approved these proposals, that they are evidently conscious that there still remain some detailed questions which will have to be solved before definitive action can be taken. For it is provided

'That a Committee of Bishops, Clergy, and Laity be appointed to prepare a scheme in further detail, to be submitted (we presume) to a future joint meeting; Such scheme to show—1. the relations of the Convocations (as now existing or as reformed) to the proposed Council; 2. The manner of electing members of the proposed Council; 3. The manner in which business shall come before the proposed Council for consideration.'

Into these subjects it would be premature now to enter. We would only say one word of what will probably be the most difficult—the relation (that is) of the Provincial and National Councils to the ancient Convocations (as reformed). No one would desire lightly to supersede these time-honoured assemblies, which will be naturally and rightly jealous on behalf of their constitutional authority, inherited as it is from the ages of the past. But, after all, they will still be Provincial and (as united) National Synods of the Clergy, and under any ecclesiastical arrangements there will be, as there have always been, occasions and functions for which such Synods will be of the greatest value. The matter may, we are inclined to think, be left to settle itself in the future. There will be a kind of 'Natural Selection' of the questions which may be properly dealt with by the Joint Councils of clergy and laity and by the Synods of the Clergy alone, or which may perhaps rightly pass through the hands of the Synods to be prepared for submission to the Councils. But in this matter we may well wait for the full and careful discussion which the Committee will no doubt give to it.

V. The foregoing survey of the present position certainly shows that at last the public opinion of the Church has been deeply stirred on this important subject; that the great majority of Churchmen of all schools are prepared to demand this autonomy through representative Councils; and that this demand will speedily assume a definite and practical form.

There have been hitherto two great objections in the way.

The first, which if well grounded would be fatal, rests on the belief that such assumption of authority by Councils of clergy and laity united is against true Church principle, as trenching on the right functions and prerogative of the Ministry. But the thorough examination of this matter, ideally and historically, which has recently been made, especially by the Joint Committee of Convocation, has, we think, satisfactorily disposed of this objection in the minds of Church people in general, and has shown that the course proposed is really a reversion to true Church principle and to the Apostolic ideal of the Church.

The other objection, which still weighs strongly on many minds, is the fear that this claim for such Church autonomy as has been described is inconsistent with Establishment. If this were so, the objection would not, like the other, be absolutely fatal. No thoughtful man can be blind to the infinite value, not so much to the Church as to the nation, of that public recognition of a national Christianity and that provision of a spiritual service to the whole community, which are implied in Establishment. Yet, after all, the one point of supreme importance is the spiritual efficiency of the Church for its sacred calling, and nothing, however valuable, should be allowed to interfere with this. But why should Church autonomy be inconsistent with Establishment? It would come, no doubt, at once, if the great calamity of Disestablishment occurred. But it need not wait for it, and it ought not to further it. Not only, as we have already said, is the example of the Established Church on the other side of the Tweed decisive on this question, but we believe that a living and efficient Church autonomy is really the best safeguard against Disestablishment. For, if Disestablishment does

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come, it will be because the Church fails to justify her position by her incapacity to deal with the spiritual needs of the people and the spiritual problems of the present time, and to adapt her time-honoured principles to the changes and the advances of modern days. It has become a commonplace to remark that Church progress is the best Church defence; and it is for such Church progress that Church autonomy is demanded.

What chance there is of obtaining from Parliament such statutory powers as are necessary, we need not at present inquire. We see indeed no sufficient reason for the desponding views on this matter which appear to be taken in many quarters. But, however this may be, we must contend that, if the demand is a just one, it is the duty of the Church to make it and persevere in it steadily and hopefully. And, indeed, while the right statutory powers of a National Council are infinitely desirable, yet it is the moral and spiritual authority of such a Council which is of essential importance and of primary value. If, as the voice of the Church, it can speak with a commanding influence, both to members of the Church itself with a claim for obedience, and to the rulers of the State with a claim for respectful consideration, it will fulfil its supreme function, and promote, as nothing else can promote, the welfare of the Kingdom of God.

Therefore, in spite of all objections and anxieties, and with full acknowledgment that this great constitutional action cannot be taken without some difficulties and some risks, we rejoice to see that the prospect of such action, with the support of the great majority of those who have studied the subject, is near at hand, and we earnestly pray that God may bless it with the gift of 'wisdom, strength, and love.'

Since these pages were written the Joint Meeting of the two Convocations in Committee and the two Houses of Laymen has been held (on July 9 and 10). It was clearly a memorable meeting, largely attended, most ably conducted by the Archbishop of Canterbury, and admirable in tone and spirit. After a thorough discussion of the scheme presented,

and consideration of numerous amendments, the following Resolutions were passed :

‘Whereas it is desirable that provision should be made for the calling together of a representative Council consisting of Clergy and Laity of the Provinces of Canterbury and York—

- ‘I. That the question of obtaining legal constitution and authority for such a Council be reserved for consideration until after the Council has upon a voluntary basis come into working order.
- ‘II. That such steps should be taken as may prove to be necessary for the reform of the two Convocations and for their sitting together from time to time as one body.
- ‘III. That with a view to providing the lay element in the proposed Council it is desirable that the Archbishops should continue to summon Houses of Laymen pending any future legislation on the subject.
- ‘IV. That this Council should be divided into three Houses ; the first consisting of the members of the Upper Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York ; the second of the clergy of the Lower Houses of the said Convocations ; the third of the members of the Houses of Laymen of the two Provinces ; and that acceptance by each of the three Houses, sitting together or separately, should be necessary in order to constitute an act of the whole body. Provided that in no case shall there be any interference with the powers and functions of each of the three Houses.
- ‘V. That the initial franchise of the lay electors shall be exercised in each ecclesiastical parish or district by persons of the male sex (possessing such householding or vestry qualification as may be defined by the Committee, to be hereafter appointed) who declare themselves in writing at the time of voting to be lay members of the Church of England, and of no other religious connexion, and are not legally and actually excluded from Communion, and by such other persons as are lay communicants of the Church of England of the male sex and of full age.
- ‘VI. That representatives elected by the lay electors shall be lay persons of the male sex and of full age and communicants.
- ‘VII. That a Committee of bishops, clergy, and laity be appointed by the two Archbishops to prepare a scheme to give effect to the foregoing resolutions, and to report to the two Convocations and the two Houses of Laymen.’

It will be observed that the original proposals have been in substance accepted, but that the Council is to be in the first instance created 'on a voluntary basis,' and the question of obtaining for it the 'legal constitution and authority' which it will eventually require is, perhaps wisely, reserved till it has proved its practicability and efficiency.

ART. XI.—LEO XIII.

1. *Vie et Pontificat de Sa Sainteté Léon Treize.* Par M. l'Abbé JOSEPH GUILLERMIN. (Paris, 1901.)
2. *SS. D. N. Leonis Papae XIII. Allocutiones, Epistolae, Constitutiones aliaque Acta Praecipua.* Volumina Sex. (Bruges, 1889-1900.)
3. *Le Conclave de Léon Treize.* Traduit de l'italien de RAFFAELE DE CESARE. (Paris, 1887.)
4. *Le Pape de Demain.* Par JEAN DE BONNEFON. (Paris, 1889.)
5. *Italy To-Day.* By BOLTON KING and THOMAS OKEY. (London, 1900.)

It is little more than a paradox to say that every generation is better acquainted with the history of the past than with its own. We strike open the immense correspondence of Pope Innocent III., who reigned seven hundred years ago, and we read it in clear perspective, seeing where that remarkable man's designs had their triumph, where they came to naught, and where they proved the beginnings of disaster. We compare it with the public and secret thoughts of his contemporaries—kings and people, nobles, bishops, and heretics—of saints in their cells, and friars on their journeys, and ambassadors in their confidential despatches, and thus arrive at the true account of him. But of all this, how much do we know concerning Pope Leo XIII.? Evidently, far less than will be common property fifty years hence. The true story of his life cannot be written yet. It lies scattered in personal Memoirs, in letters carefully stowed away, in conversations

taken down for future publication, in thoughts which have still to be revealed. How much of his many works 'begun on earth' shall or shall not 'pause for death,' who at this hour will take upon him to say? The most anyone can attempt is to recite them in their order as they occurred; to mark the relation in which they stand towards an earlier time; and to catch some flying echoes of the applause or disapproval with which they were hailed on their appearance.

Whether Vincent Joachim Pecci was a great man may be disputed; that Leo XIII. has been a great Pope is certain. These two kinds of greatness are measured by very different standards; and therefore an official biography like that of M. l'Abbé Guillermin, written on the lines of panegyric, is little more than an epitaph carved in golden letters: sincere, no doubt, but so enthusiastic that it becomes conventional. It sees in its hero 'the most medieval and most modern of Popes'; always rising to the occasion, never in the wrong; as admirable when he solicits the votes of the German Centre for a military Bill of Prince Bismarck's as when he invites Greeks or Englishmen to acknowledge his supremacy, or when he lifts his voice to condemn atheism or anarchism. M. Guillermin is painstaking, accurate, well-meaning, pious. But he does not pretend to be a statesman or a philosopher: views of his own he has none; the seal of papal documents finds him like wax and leaves on him a rounded, clear impression, as if he were the *tabula rasa* of Aristotle's metaphor. He is an index, a well-made catalogue most useful to consult, but nothing more.

In Leo's voluminous Acta we may study the seal as it was cut and prepared. It is a fine piece of Roman workmanship, antique bronze, with definite outlines, and of even stamp; but still we read the medal more easily than the man whose image and superscription it bears. Utterances merely formal, compliments which signify much or little according to the case, fill no small number of these Latin periods, moulded on Cicero to a surprising extent, seldom on the Fathers, and only in distinctly pastoral charges on Scripture. Prepared by subordinates with minute care, filed to classic idiom by Leo himself in his sleepless nights, subtle,

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scholastic, and abundant, they put us in mind of a Bembo or a Sadoletto commenting upon St. Thomas Aquinas in his delicate old age. The matter is medieval, the language Renaissance; a genuine modern page we shall hardly come upon in all that Pope Leo has given us. Never once did he quote from a German thinker, or a French man of letters, or an English apologist of his own faith. He has condemned a variety of opinions current in our time; but almost the only distinguished intellect belonging to the nineteenth century from which he borrowed was Bastiat, whose economic *Harmonies*, now forgotten, appear to have wrought strongly upon him during those years of exile at Perugia. Others, indeed, like Lamennais and Gioberti, Catholic reformers, may have sounded in his ears certain principles which he would fain have corrected or taken up into a higher synthesis. But even in dealing with them he could scarcely be termed modern. Leo XIII. as a philosopher dated from Thomas Aquinas and the medieval schoolmen; when he touched Italian questions it was in the mood of Nicholas V.; and in style, though a lifelong student of Dante, nothing could less resemble the concise vigour of the Florentine than his wide-flowing rhetoric and his amiable Latin verse.

With the revolutionary spirit of France he was, therefore, continually at war; but no less with the Gallican or Legitimist seventeenth century than with the unbelieving eighteenth. Once he recalled with a flash of approving vehemence, *à propos* to the Sicilian Vespers, that saying of Joseph de Maistre, 'For the last three hundred years written history has been a conspiracy against the truth.' He was a genuine Italian, but a Guelf, a Papalino, far more than some of his predecessors had been. Though he should seem in his politics to draw near the American view of popular rights and free institutions, he was never thinking of Washington, but kept his gaze fixed on the *Regimen of Princes*, ascribed to St. Thomas, or the folio pamphlets in which Suarez demolished King James. Liberal, in the English sense of the word, he at no time could be. Even when he defended freedom of association, so grievously curtailed by foreign Governments, he was pleading only for the Religious Orders,

and had his reserves. Such a character, such a policy, taking us back to the year 1200, cannot well be interpreted by the journalist who sketches merely what he sees, or the crowd to whom history means a text-book and an examination. Given the Latin classics, St. Augustine, St. Thomas, Dante, and the Vatican Council, we possess the chief elements out of which Leo XIII. was formed. But how many readers of our morning papers are sufficient for these things? They lie at a distance from the average English mind in comparison with which Japan might be close at hand, India our next-door neighbour.

If we look for criticism on the acts of Leo XIII., it will be met with, so far as it has found utterance, in the writings of those whom he censured—in Italian magazines, in the polemics of French Royalists, in the pamphlets or articles of Germans like Schell, Kraus, and Möller, in the Antisemite literature which was launched on its way by Drumont in *La France Juive*. While M. Guillermin prints after each Encyclical the words of gratitude with which bishops and clergy welcomed it, these pages tell us that opposition to the late Pope raised its head again and again. Nor, indeed, was that fact questioned by Leo, who dwelt upon it often, and sent fresh legions to beat down the rebels. We quote an unpleasing sample of the kind in our list of authorities, M. de Bonnefon's *Le Pape de Demain*, one of the sorriest instances of a semi-libellous journalism, cultivated especially in Paris, which the Roman Court was never able to silence, but which, though it cannot be relied upon, ought not to be overlooked. It furnishes a singular commentary on M. Guillermin's flights of praise. Pope Leo's reign, even more than the reign of Pius IX., went through its periods of reform, resistance, and reaction. It began with brilliant success; it traversed difficult times, and had to face a coalition of hostile interests; it has ended, as the French say, upon a note of interrogation, or even of catastrophe. But in the annals of Latin Christendom it cannot fail to hold a memorable place.

Let us now try to picture the man and what he did under these conditions, which must leave him for all except the

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The sixth of seven children, and the second youngest, he was born at Carpineto, March 2, 1810. His native place was a grim Italian village, perched on a rock in the savage district known as 'La Ciocciaria,' or 'sandal-shoon country,' among the Volscian Hills, not far from the public road between Rome and Naples. The nearest railway station is Segni; at no great distance Anagni is visible; and from those mountains came the Popes Hormisdas, Vitalian, Innocent III., Gregory IX., Alexander IV., and Boniface VIII. As regards his family, it is called noble by those who connect the Antonio Pecci that settled in 1531 at Carpineto with his somewhat illustrious namesakes of Siena and Cortona; but the line of filiation has never been clearly made out. His mother, Anna Prosperi Buzi, of Cora, that stern old Volscian fortress which clings fiercely to its mountain-side, traced her descent from Cola di Rienzi, whose son took refuge up there after the Tribune was murdered. But the important fact is not this pedigree, uncertain or disputable: it is the circumstance that when Vincent Pecci had to choose a career, his people, though the chief at Carpineto, were neither wealthy nor conspicuous. With great Roman or Papal houses they could not pretend to rank; and if Ludovico Pecci was a count he was no more. To a lad in this narrow world one path lay open—the *prelatura*, or civil service of the Church, to enter upon which tonsure was indispensable, but not the higher orders. Vincent had been piously brought up by an admirable mother. Vices or even faults he did not display in his simple and austere childhood. He was taken to Rome at seven years old, put to the Jesuit school in Viterbo at eight, and in October 1825 passed on to the Roman College which Leo XII. had just given back to its old masters.

Education, as cultivated by the Jesuits in Rome, was in Latin and Italian, with little or no Greek, some physics and mathematics, and an eclectic philosophy, mediæval with a dash of Cartesian in it. Young Pecci, brilliant and studious, learned to write 'lo bello stile che mi fa onore,' as Dante has it; he addressed his elegant sentences to the Pope on a gala

day; and he was preparing to defend in public a couple of hundred theses for his doctor's degree, when his health broke down towards the end of 1829. A few months in his native air restored him. Next year he was pursuing his lessons in divinity under two celebrated men—Perrone, who lasted until near 1880, and Patrizzi, brother of the late Cardinal-Vicar of Pius IX. In 1832 he won his doctor's cap. He was admitted a member of the Collegio dei Nobili, which feeds the *prelatura*; he attended lectures at the Sapienza, received there some honorary distinction, and in 1836 added to his laurels the supreme grade of Doctor in both Laws. It may be as well to remark that, however dignified these Roman studies, they would not have seemed very profound in a German university. And no breath of modern ideas floated across them. A cleric in the days of Bossuet or Benedict XIV. would have learned just as much and just as little as Vincent Pecci during the reign of Louis Philippe. Father Perrone had probably never heard the name of Schleiermacher; and Father Patrizzi, though an excellent Hebrew scholar, neither anticipated nor followed the methods of Ewald. Had Savigny or Sir Henry Maine attended the Sapienza, they would have astonished these Church lawyers, who were incapable of tracing the genesis or understanding the growth of the statutes which they expounded.

Pecci was gazetted a Monsignor in February 1837. 'Thanks to the powerful patrons whom my studies and conduct have gained for me with Cardinal Pacca and the other Cardinals,' he writes to his brother John, 'the Holy Father has named me among his domestic prelates and allowed me the *mantelletta* of honour. Oh! if papa were alive, how glad he would be!' His parents, to whom he owed the best of examples and a most affectionate bringing up, were both gone before they could see him on this rising path. Promotion came rapidly. On June 28 a billet from the Secretary of State informed him that he was to be '*Ponente del buon Governo*,' a quaint title which reminds us of the 'Tribune of the People' and the 'Good Estate,' but which signified merely a place in the administration. With charming *naïveté* he wrote home:

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'Young as I am, I cannot fail in a career which will do honour to my family if my conduct is beyond reproach and if I find good protectors—two things which, as I need not tell you, are indispensable in Rome if one is to advance with speed and security. However, though but five months a prelate, my foot is on the first round of the ladder.'

He was anxious to help and raise up his family. Still on the best of terms with his Jesuit teachers, he saw and admired their heroic behaviour during the cholera of 1837; at one time he thought even of joining them. Meanwhile he received the orders of deacon and priest at Christmas and St. Silvester of that year. This, to English ideas, may seem a curious inversion of things, that one should first be a Right Reverend Monsignor and Prelate and then be ordained to the Christian Ministry. But in Rome it is not uncommon, nor surely without significance. Vincent Pecci was an edifying example of the prelate who advances to sacred orders as honours accumulate. He felt a charm in the story of St. Francis de Sales which took no slight hold of him. Aiming at sincere spiritual progress, he went through a retreat of thirty days, and his first words after ordination betokened all the fervour of a neophyte.

In a few weeks he had been sent as Papal Legate, or Governor, to Benevento, February 1838. That outlying province was infested with brigands and seething with crime. Mgr. Pecci, frail, fallow, and reserved, always distant and severe, yet by no means impolitic in his measures, drew up a programme which Cardinal Bernetti adopted, and which allowed a considerable share in legislation to the people, but kept the executive in the Legate's hands. Money was not plentiful. The young Delegate could buy no horses for his coach, though bound to appear in gala during the procession of Corpus Domini. He writes for a pair to his brothers with all the warmth of an English lad eager to follow the hounds. But he possessed in no contemptible degree the Italian coolness; and his military police caught and executed at Benevento the famous brigand Colletta, with his band of fourteen ruffians. Smuggling was put down; this Papal Alsatia was cleansed of its worst defilements. Don Salina, his secretary,

was soon able to write, 'In this province robberies are less numerous; murder and brigandage have almost come to an end, which are results that cannot be got without energy.' Delightful comment on the old ways! Three years passed; the Delegate had lessened the taxes, given a fresh impulse to trade and agriculture, opened new roads in this mountain country, and suggested its exchange to the crown of Naples for an equivalent. His administration drew praise from all sides. Gregory XVI. had not many strong men about him. Perugia was then a hotbed of revolutionary fever and one of the headquarters of Young Italy. To Perugia, therefore, which would be his home, with a single interval, until he became Chamberlain of the Roman Church in 1878, this masterful prelate was despatched. He had not yet been made bishop, but he was Legate in temporals and really first man in the province.

Perugia, with its ancient walls and its crown of towers, with its 103 churches, its cathedral, its Palazzo Pubblico, and its statue of Julius III. in the great square; with its headlong streets rushing madly down the hill, and its prospect over Umbrian vineyards and cornfields, is as beautiful as it is melancholy, a perfect picture which no traveller can forget who has once set eyes on it. A second Rome it is sometimes called. Etruscan and Medieval, the refuge of many Popes, looking down on the grey Tiber and in view of Franciscan Assisi, what page of Italian history does it not revive in colours too often dark or sanguine? Its citizens are fierce, unyielding, and truculent. But the mountain-bred lad from Carpineto was as hard as they could be; he soon made his hand felt upon them. Here he began to consider at close quarters 'la Setta,' which word how shall we translate for Englishmen in whose eyes Freemasonry is all nonsense or eating good dinners? In Italy 'la Setta' spells unbelief and anarchy; it is that 'secret conspiracy against all governments,' of which the Abbé Barruel or another wrote, and which has blossomed since 1815 into the Carbonari, the International, the Socialist Left, the Nihilists, and the murder companies of recent bad years. Upon all that we shall not enlarge now. Enough that Pecci was called upon to combat

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Mazzini and the squadrons that stood in the dark behind him. As at Benevento he reformed with one hand while chastising with the other, so he acted at 'proud Perugia.' The Pope came on a visit to these unruly parts. His Delegate constructed a new and easier path up the mountain by which he could enter; and Gregory XVI. said on leaving, 'In other cities I have been received as a monk or a cardinal; you have given me the welcome of a king: I will not forget you.' Mgr. Pecci brought under one roof all the departments of justice, he emptied the prisons, he opened savings-banks for the small industrial class, he reconstructed the college at Spello, and was full of humane designs. But in 1843 came his appointment as Nuncio to Belgium, and on February 19 he was consecrated Archbishop of Damietta *in partibus* by Cardinal Lambruschini.

These were unusual distinctions at the age of thirty-three. But they meant travel and exile, two drawbacks always sensibly felt by Italians, who leave home most unwillingly. The Nuncio took boat at Civit  Vecchia, went through France, arrived in Brussels, and speedily made himself agreeable to King Leopold and Queen Louise. He learned to speak French with a graceful and somewhat old-fashioned fluency. But he never glanced into those authors of modern French literature whom he pilloried long after in the Index, like dead moles nailed for an ensample on a barn-door. In 1845 the Jesuits set up a chair of philosophy in their college at Namur. The University of Louvain raised a cry, and the Belgian bishops echoed it, for this was an attack upon privileges granted to Louvain not long before by the Holy See. Mgr. Pecci recommended a compromise, which was adopted; but he did not escape some little censure. The particulars reveal a certain strain between bishops and nuncios which is curious to observe, and not without its bearing on later events, under Leo's own Pontificate, at Westminster, Paris, and Washington. However, he prospered among the *braves Belges*, and to his suggestion they owe their National College in Rome, founded in 1844. He was able to reduce under the Nuncio's administration all the religious Orders in Belgium; as old Mgr. Fornari told him, 'his thorns were

roses' compared with the trials of other Legates. Meanwhile he had not been forgotten at Perugia. The Bishop, Cittadini, died in April 1845. Clergy and people begged that Mgr. Pecci might take his place. He was willing, and received the nomination in January 1846. On his way home he spent a few days in England, dined with Queen Victoria at St. James's, and heard O'Connell speak in Parliament. He called on his friend Fornari in Paris, and arrived in Rome on May 22. Gregory XVI. was ill, and could not give him audience. The Pope, in fact, died on June 12. Pecci, not yet a Cardinal, saw the Conclave from outside. He rejoiced at the election of Pius IX., then reputed to be a Liberal; he had his place in the picturesque cavalcade which traversed the city when the new Pope took possession of St. John Lateran. As we reflect on all that has happened since, we cannot but feel that there was something singularly impressive in this meeting. For no one dreamt that these two men would between them fill up more than half a century of the Papal chronicles, that Pius IX. would be the last of the Pontiff-Kings, or that Leo XIII. would never be enthroned in the Lateran, which he was to restore and to choose for his burial-place.

The letters which Mgr. Pecci brought from King Leopold were flattering; they made a civil request for the Cardinal's hat, although it is not given as a rule unless the Nuncio has fulfilled his term of office. Pio Nono replied with equal civility. But the purple was not bestowed until December 1853. During those seven years the world had been shaken by revolution. Rome had seen the Pope idolized as a reformer and shamefully driven in flight to Gaeta; it had welcomed the Republic under Mazzini, and yielded to 'the cannon of France' which Arthur Clough had heard thundering 'from Janiculan heights.' The Pontiff, at home once more, had deserted the Quirinal of blood-stained memory for the Vatican. He had thrown himself into the arms of Giacomo Antonelli, who came, like Pecci, from the Volscian Hills, and was a small Papal Metternich, but no saint. Antonelli seems to have been one of those able men who fail in everything they attempt yet extort admiration from their enemies. Mgr. Pecci had not been called to share in

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the Pope's Liberal Government. But when Gioberti was making a triumphal progress through Italy in 1848 and came to Perugia, the Bishop gave him a hearty yet politic reception. They were of one mind touching the Italian 'Primato,' or leadership of Europe, an idea which Leo XIII. never relinquished. He was on terms, at least of sympathy, with Rosmini, that pure patriot and devout ecclesiastic; but we remark henceforth in the prelate a caution, a reserve in speech, and a concentrated attention to his diocese, which have been ascribed by some historians to want of nerve, by others explained as the conduct of a man not favourably looked upon in the Papal *entourage*. There was a little of all this, we may conjecture. In 1849 the Republicans, led by Ancioni and Forbes, had entered Perugia, and had behaved with the passionate insolence of subjects too long kept down or not afraid of a weak Government. The Austrians, commanded by Lichtenstein, made ready to assault them. But Mgr. Pecci staved off this second invasion; and, thanks to his reiterated efforts, no blood was spilt.

He had now arrived at that pause in his career which must have seemed to him, and to the family at Carpineto, like a disastrous and total failure. True, he had been made Bishop and Cardinal; he was only just turned forty, and was known to his friends as a scholar, statesman, and administrator. But so completely did he sink out of view that when, thirty-two years after his return to Perugia, he was elected Pope, neither the clergy nor the public were acquainted with his name. In Rome it was never mentioned. By some of the foreign Cardinals who voted for him in 1878 it was wrongly spelled. At the numerous gatherings of Bishops round Pius IX., in 1854, in 1862, or in 1867, he made no mark. Not one passing glimpse do we get of him at the Vatican Council, where he appears to have given a silent vote—of course, on the side of the majority, as his training, antecedents, and perhaps some dim forebodings of the future, would naturally warrant. Pius IX. visited Perugia in 1857, on the famous northern journey in which he was welcomed with Hosannas, to be changed almost at once to the 'Crucifige' of the years of liberation. Antonelli put his faith

in despatches and protocols ; but Pecci was never tired of enlarging, as Gioberti had done, on the natural affinities of faith and civilization. With 1860 came the deluge. Ancona fell to the national troops after a gallant resistance under Lamoricière. Spoleto followed its example. During the previous year Perugia had joined the Italian movement and revolted from the Pope. A company of Papal Swiss advanced from Foligno. Adam Rossi, a liberalizing priest, sought the Bishop and begged him to countermand their entrance. But he replied, 'How can I forbid the Pope to recover his lawful possessions? I am a Prince of the Church.' He withdrew into his palace. The Swiss broke their way in, and a massacre followed. For fifteen months they held the town. Then, on September 14, 1860, the regular army, under General De Sonnaz, appeared at Perugia, entered by the gate of Sant' Antonio, penetrated to the great square, and prepared to take the citadel by storm.

A sharp engagement was the result. Breaking open the seminary doors, General de Sonnaz conveyed his wounded men into the Bishop's palace. Vain attempts to stop the sanguinary combat were made by Cardinal Pecci. But he exercised neither civil nor military powers. The Delegate had fled to the Austrians ; and the Swiss commandant, Schmidt, surrendered at six in the evening. A painful incident was the seizure and execution of Santi, a priest ; but for this act Cardinal Pecci, who could do nothing to hinder it, will not be held responsible. His position now became very delicate. In 1862 he suspended from their functions Rossi and two other clerics who had petitioned Pius IX. to give up what was left of his temporal power. The local authorities desired to prosecute him for treason. But he was manifestly within his rights according to law, and the matter dropped. With General Carini, who commanded in Perugia from 1873 till 1878, the Cardinal kept up friendly but not intimate relations. He was now an old man. Not even the fall of Rome in 1870 had diminished Antonelli's power with Pius IX., who delighted all visitors to the Vatican but allowed things to drift as they might during his last years. How, we

may ask, would Vincent Pecci's epitaph have run had he died in this long retirement from the world's affairs?

Certainly he was a model bishop. His clergy were trained on the pattern of St. Charles Borromeo. His seminary became a house of severe discipline and unremitting studies. At the instance, it is said, of Joseph Pecci, his brother, who had been a Jesuit and had quitted the Society for motives which are not known, he dreamt of a great restoration—on medieval lines—of philosophy and learning. His management of Church finances, then and always, was strict or even parsimonious; but he could loosen his purse-strings when institutions for the support of charity or education made their claims felt. He accepted all that he thought useful in the Government plans of degrees and examinations. But he would not hear of 'civil marriage'—a subject on which the religious and the lay authorities seem needlessly at strife in Latin countries—yet he was obliged to submit when registration was taken from the clergy, when convents were suppressed, and monks and nuns were cast on the world with scanty pensions not always paid. The great process, which has gone on during fifty years, of secularizing Church property in the Italian peninsula, while it has not brought half the value that it should into the public treasure, has been an occasion of untold suffering to individuals, themselves innocent and mostly helpless. Cavour's idea of a 'Free Church in a Free State' has not been realized anywhere on the Continent of Europe. But there are now in Italy religious Orders as numerous and flourishing as if they had never been suppressed.

When Cardinal Manning visited Rome in December 1876, he was painfully affected by what he saw there. Antonelli was gone, leaving a scandalous trial behind him. 'The number of effective cardinals,' said Manning, 'is reduced to seven or eight.' And the Holy See appeared to him 'very low in its counsellors and men of action.' Some were looking for miracles; the 'white cockades' would neither move nor let others advance; it was a state of 'ecclesiastical Quietism.' But the Falk Laws at Berlin, and the Mancini Laws at Monte Citorio, were breaking up the Church-system; they were

decimating the clergy and leaving the people without pastors. Still there must be no talk of conciliation. 'If this be right,' concluded the great English Cardinal, 'I am so wrong that I can only hold my peace.' Neither then nor afterwards did the name of Vincent Pecci occur to him. Only certain keen-eyed Italians had fixed on the Cardinal of Perugia as a likely candidate for the inheritance which Pius IX. was bequeathing in so lamentable a condition. Papalettere, of Monte Cassino, had announced as much to Visconti Venosta in 1874. Ruggiero Bonghi, in his remarkable pamphlet *The Conclave and the Future Pope*, had singled him out in 1877. Three names were before the public which takes an interest in these things—Bilio, who drew up the Syllabus; Riario Sforza, Archbishop of Naples; and Mgr. Pecci, to whom the Pope, at Antonelli's bidding, had refused quite lately the position of Prodatario. To elect Bilio would have been to continue the policy of the closing reign, which events showed to be impossible. Riario Sforza died in 1876. Pecci stood almost alone in the front.

He had been brought thither suddenly by the action of two other Cardinals, Panebianco and Franchi, who insisted on his being made Camerlengo—that is to say, Regent during interregnum—of the Holy Roman Church. In September 1877 he was invited to take up his residence within the Vatican. On January 16, 1878, Victor Emmanuel passed away in the Quirinal Palace; on February 7 Pius IX. breathed his last amid a great company of cardinals and prelates. It was a critical moment in European history. The Russians had taken Plevna; they were encamped outside the walls of Constantinople, and were only restrained from entering by the presence of British ironclads at Besika Bay. In less than a month the Treaty of Santo Stefano would be drawn up, while Prince Bismarck was trying on his costume of the 'honest broker,' who should remodel this arrangement, too favourable to the Russians, at the Congress of Berlin. The Italian Administration was on its trial. From every Government it had received assurances that the Conclave would be left in its hands. None of the Catholic Powers intended to use their Veto, which now, indeed, as Döllinger pointed out,

had lost its meaning. Nor was there reason to apprehend in Rome the disorders, either patrician or popular, which had too often followed on the death of a Pontiff under the feeble rule of the Sacred College. But would the Conclave be held in Rome? That was the first question which arose as soon as Pius IX. had been consigned to his resting-place in St. Peter's, not without the emotion due to a memory so full of charm and so unfortunate. He had proved to be the Louis XVI. of the Papacy : who would be its restorer?

In three documents the late Pope had given these venerable electors almost a free hand. They might leave Rome ; they need not wait the customary ten days ; if a bare majority could be anywhere assembled, at once they might make their choice. No recommendation of a successor was offered ; and absolutely no provision was made for carrying on the Government of the Church should disorders arise. M. Waddington and General Cialdini, who spoke the general mind, were convinced that the place must be Rome, the man Italian. But the Cardinals were not clear as to the first point, though unanimous on the second. By a strong but wise measure Crispi had prorogued the meeting of Parliament. On February 8 an assembly of thirty-eight Cardinals was held to decide where they would set up the Conclave. For Rome there were eighteen votes ; against Rome, or undecided, twenty. But where could they go, in any case? Neither Spain nor Austria had invited them ; Malta was inconvenient ; and Crispi had conveyed a warning that if they quitted the Vatican it should be occupied by Italian troops. At a second meeting Di Pietro dwelt on these and similar topics ; the former vote was rescinded, and hundreds of workmen set about transforming the vast palace into a collection of cells for the momentous business. Everyone desired a short Conclave—and not too long a reign. Had Cardinal Pecci's health promised him the 'years of Peter,' it is unlikely that he would have been elected. Yet who else was there to choose?

This consideration must be borne in mind when Cesaresco affirms that the selection was made by Cardinal Bartolini. It is doubtless true that Bartolini pressed upon his fellow-

electors arguments which were plain enough to win their adhesion. Had Bilio chosen, he might have kept together a party of Irreconcilables. And Franchi was appeased (there is no reason to say purchased) with the promise that he should be Secretary of State. Cardinal Pecci did not solicit votes on his own behalf. He acted with stern decision inside the Vatican—all that was left of the Pope's ample domains—but he opened his heart to no one. The Conclave began on February 19, in the Sistine Chapel. Sixty Cardinals had arrived. The first scrutiny was annulled as informal; but it yielded six votes to Bilio; five each to Franchi and Di Luca; and nineteen to Pecci. At the second Pecci had twenty-nine, and Bilio seven. It was clear that next day the Bishop of Perugia would be elected. He felt the strain, spoke of his infirmities, and passed an uneasy night. On the morning of the 20th sixty-one cardinals were present. Forty-four gave him their voices; all thrones but one were abased in the chapel, and Vincent Joachim Pecci became Pope Leo XIII. He chose that name in memory of his first patron, Leo XII.; but it was construed as meaning that he did not intend to reign as Pius X.

Would he now take the first step in a new order of things and give his blessing *Urbi et Orbi* from the historic loggia over the great doors of St. Peter's? The piazza was filled with an enormous and expectant crowd. It is said that the Government felt some alarm and sent the Cardinals notice that it would not answer for the consequences if the Pope came forth. The Ministry and the Sacred College were both hesitating. Leo XIII. gave his blessing to the people inside St. Peter's; and, for a like reason, he was privately crowned in the Sistine, March 3, 1878. On that same day the Treaty of Santo Stefano was signed.

His first act had been to notify the Emperor William of his election and to express a warm desire for the peace of the Church in Germany. The Kulturkampf was in full course. Pius IX. had been so imprudent when receiving a deputation of German Catholics as to liken William I. or his Chancellor to Attila; but hard words could not arrest the harder blows dealt by Prince Bismarck, and the state of religion was

deplorable. All the Prussian bishops were in prison or in exile; thousands of clergy wandered abroad; the religious Orders had been suppressed; the Old Catholic movement still showed signs of life. France had just seen Marshal MacMahon defeated; the Dufaure Ministry was anti-clerical; a series of May Laws would shortly be set going by Jules Ferry. Before 1870 the leading military Power in Europe was Catholic, if not Ultramontane: it was now aggressively Protestant. Enraged with Jesuits, Poles, and the Empress Augusta, Prince Bismarck since 1874 had struck so violently at the German Church as to evoke from it a Centre Party, lay and clerical, which his Guelf enemy, Windhorst, was leading to battle. This immense conflagration must be got under. But it cost Leo XIII. ten years of diplomacy and more than one *coup d'état* before he had put it down.

'*Lumen in caelo*' was the motto ascribed, in the so-called prophecy of Malachi, to this new reign. By a singular coincidence the star issuing rays beamed on the shield of Leo. But it rose upon a world in confusion. The Ministers bequeathed to him were old or intractable. Cardinal Franchi survived only four months as Secretary of State, and ridiculous tales went about that he had been poisoned. Not by the Pope assuredly, for there was none to take his place. From Perugia Leo had brought his own intimates—Laurenzi, Rotelli, and Satolli; but he could not put them above their seniors; and he gave rather than took counsel in their company. His pastoral Charges of 1877 and 1878 to his diocesans were now eagerly scanned. If we read them with intelligence we may sum them up in two celebrated names—for the philosophy of religion, Gioberti; for politics, Lamennais. The Encyclical '*Inscrutabili*,' which was his Speech from the Throne on Easter Day, 1878, is entirely occupied with the first of these subjects. But it exalts the Church as the mother of freedom. Before the year was out he had denounced Communism and Socialism in a sweeping Charge. His policy, though many-sided, was simple. To every Government except Italy, including the Russian and the Turk, he held out the right hand of fellowship. As yet the great labour movement which filled the last twenty years of the century was not. But

Henry George had given the word in San Francisco ; it was echoed from West to East : and Leo had already pronounced the name of Christian Economics. He meditated continually on St. Thomas Aquinas. In the Consistory of May 12, 1879, he created ten Cardinals, among them Fürstenberg of Olmütz, Haynald of Colocza, Alimonda of Turin, and John Henry Newman, sometime Fellow of Oriel College. A new era was beginning.

Some ardent Liberals, of whom Father Curci, late S.J., might be considered the mouthpiece, hoped that Leo XIII. would break utterly with the past, surrender his claims on the Temporal Power, and accept Italian unity. First of the Popes for many hundred years, he possessed neither subjects nor dominions. Direct rule in temporals he could not exercise. Even Manning, who had vehemently supported Pius IX. in his defence of the 'Civil Princedom,' now insisted that Catholic abstention from the Italian Parliament—the famous axiom 'Neither electors nor elected'—was a counsel of despair. But for a change so decisive opinion in the Church was not ready ; nor did Leo ever advance with undue haste. He shut himself up in the Vatican, put forth the customary protest, and from the day of his election to his last hour acted and spoke as a prisoner of the King. He did not, however, envenom the quarrel ; and it will appear that the Quirinal by its lack of foresight, as well as by its unjust dealings with the funds of Propaganda and of charitable institutions generally, did some violence to the letter if not to the spirit of its 'Law of Guarantees.' Catholic jurists maintained that the plebiscite at Rome, taken October 2, 1870, was neither valid in law nor an honest counting in fact. From their point of view Italy was the aggressor and the Pope an injured man. Hence it could not be wondered at if Leo XIII., who had sworn to preserve intact the rights of the Holy See, made the restoration of the Temporal Power a paramount aim in his diplomacy. It was a valuable asset, which some day might be realized. But first there was need of an understanding with the Teutons. Upon bringing the Kulturkampf to an end the success of every other plan depended.

In June 1878 Nobiling made an attempt on the life of the

Emperor William, who luckily escaped. The Pope wrote in kindly terms to Berlin. With equal kindness the Crown Prince replied. Negotiations began. Mgr. Masella at Munich, and afterwards Cardinal Jacobini and Herr von Hübner, discussed the terms of peace. In the Reichstag old combinations were breaking up. The National Liberals had drawn away from Prince Bismarck; he could not lean upon the Socialists, now winning remarkable influence throughout Germany; the Centre held the balance. In February 1880 Leo announced that the appointment of parish priests should henceforth be notified to Government, with a practical veto on those whom it did not approve. Falk was dismissed. The Chancellor spoke of 'carrying out the May Laws peacefully.' But Windhorst mocked at a 'peace of the graveyard' like this; he gave the Iron Prince no rest; Canossa was in sight. The new Bishop of Treves, Korum, took possession of his See on the terms *ante bellum* in August 1881. In November Bismarck declared the war was ending. More bishops were named. Von Schlözer became Prussian Minister at the Vatican. But the Centre still demanded repeal of every enactment which tampered with the seminaries and forbade religious Orders. Prince Frederick William visited Rome and held a long interview with the Pope. Melchers, of Cologne, was sacrificed—that is to say, he was retired against his will and given the red hat. The Prussian hierarchy, again complete, issued an address from Fulda, August 1885; and the first act of reconciliation was accomplished.

An incident almost medieval in character led up to the peaceful close. German cruisers had occupied the Caroline Isles, to which Spain held some shadow of a right, and had flown over them the Imperial ensign. There were riots in Madrid, the German Minister had his windows broken, and the newspapers talked of war. Prince Bismarck seized the occasion: he begged Pope Leo to arbitrate, and submitted to his finding, which, as everyone foresaw, would not be ungracious to feeble Spain. This judgment on a small matter the Pontiff executed with unusual satisfaction. He was on the point of offering to the Chancellor a decoration which that great man thought too little. Galimberti, in a midnight

call at the Vatican, suggested that Bismarck should receive the Order of Christ. It was sent to him with a flattering epistle. Pope and Chancellor now became allies. Kopp, Bishop of Fulda, was called up to the Prussian House of Lords. Bismarck swept away the legislation he had once thought indispensable to German culture. But he asked for his price: the Centre must vote a Septennial Military Bill which largely increased the army. Leo made his wishes known in private: the Chancellor published them in the nick of time. This diplomatic move carried the elections in February 1887, and won the game. Still, the Pope did not lose. He had pacified Germany and shown that he was yet a great influence to be reckoned with, even in politics. Mgr. Galimberti dined with the Emperor, who was keeping his ninetyeth birthday. The new laws passed in April 1887; and in due course the sequestrated revenues of the clergy were given back to them. Peace was made: it has never since been violated.

A similar pacification followed in Bavaria: Minister Lütz, who had been a determined enemy of Rome, gave up the Old Catholics and retracted on his death-bed. For a moment the Centre was threatened with dissolution. But it held together, and has proved the mainstay of Conservative Government in the Fatherland. William II. continued the tradition of friendship in his picturesque but impetuous, or perhaps imperious, fashion. No triumph equal to this can be recorded in the Pontificate of Leo XIII. Whether the *Anseignpflicht*, which gives Berlin a veto upon Church appointments, will turn out as disastrous in Germany as it has proved in France remains to be seen. What the Pope was concerned almost everywhere in defending were the rights of minorities. But Leo felt bound more than once to sacrifice them. Take Poland as an instance. In 1877 Russia had broken off relations with Pius IX., who was always a champion of the Poles. His successor, in 1880, opened a correspondence with Alexander II. It was continued under Alexander III. M. de Giers, the Russian Chancellor, appeared at the Vatican; a Concordat was signed not unlike the German, but much more accommodating to St. Petersburg. It dealt with the vexed question of

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language, certainly not to the advantage of Polish Catholics; but it secured the return of their bishops from Siberia. Fresh prelates were named in March 1883; Mgr. Vannutelli represented the Pope in May at the Emperor's coronation. But the clouds returned after the rain. In 1885 the Bishop of Wilna was banished. Then Alexander III., quitting the Triple Alliance, drew near to France, and some sort of understanding was reached with the Vatican. A great Polish pilgrimage arrived in Rome during April 1893. To the whole nation next year Leo addressed an Encyclical which was a masterpiece of carefully controlled phrases. It delighted the Emperor, a deeply religious man, who now suffered a Russian bishop, Mgr. Zeer, to journey to Rome, and appointed a resident Minister there, Iswolski. Under Nicholas III. relations yet more intimate were established. Even Russian priests might now proceed *ad limina*, while in 1899 Mgr. Tarnassi took up his abode in St. Petersburg as Papal Nuncio—striking results of tact and gentleness. But the Polish Home Rulers are not satisfied: they dread lest these things should mean the absorption of their race and language in a Slavonic democracy.

All this while, a question was rising like the tide upon the shores of a new world; how should the Papacy deal with the French Republic? Though now on excellent terms with the Kaiser, Leo could scarcely dream that he would play the part of Charlemagne in Italy and drive the Piedmontese from Rome. Desperately anti-Clerical, or even anti-Christian, as the successive French Cabinets had shown themselves, still France was the head of Latin civilisation, Catholic below the surface, and in want of friends. All the modern problems—freedom, popular rights, democratic institutions, and the growing social question—appeared as at some vital centre of movement, perhaps of revolution, in Paris. But the Catholics were hopelessly divided. Royalists took for granted that the Pope was on their side and could never leave them. Yet, as Manning wrote in his diary after the inevitable change had come to pass in 1890, the Holy See 'refuses to be Royalist in Naples, or Carlist in Spain, or Legitimist in France.' There were precedents all down the

centuries for what the Pope was about to do. He had received deputations of French workmen; he endeavoured to curb the vivacity of French journalists; and in denouncing the Freemasons he had not shrunk from asserting that 'liberty, equality, and fraternity' bore a Catholic sense. Was this to accept the 'principles of '89'? He would never allow it: he was founding himself on St. Thomas Aquinas, and frankly condemned Rousseau.

In November 1885 Pope Leo struck the first blow at French Royalism by putting forth his 'Immortale Dei,' on the constitution of Christian States. This cautious document has been termed 'Boniface VIII. temperately expressed.' What it claims for the Church we pass over: but in defining that a democratic government may be as much a form of Divine Right—that is to say, as legitimate—as a Monarchy; that good Catholics may be Republicans; that toleration of religious differences, though occasioned by a sad apostasy from truth, may in modern countries be the less of two evils—Rome was yielding all that a fair and friendly State could ask. An immense agitation followed. Mgr. Thomas, Archbishop of Rouen, pronounced a vehement discourse. Mgr. Freppel, the militant Bishop of Angers, forbade Mgr. Thomas's oration to be published in his diocese. The French hierarchy, though by no means of one opinion, submitted. But a campaign, chequered by lamentable cross-fighting and all the ignominy of the anti-Semite and Dreyfus episodes, was then begun, of which we have not yet seen the end. Pope Leo desired that his people should accept everywhere the powers that be, in France as in Germany or in Russia, and make the best of them. His enemies on the Left announced that he wanted to capture the Republic; those on the Right answered that the Republic had captured him.

Journalism, or the Fourth Estate, which had been a trial to the Vatican, was tried in its turn during this grand evolution. We have no leisure to fight over again the battles of M. des Houx in Rome or of the *Siglo Futuro* at Madrid; we can but glance at Cardinal Pitra, the scholarly Benedictine, who broke out in sharp words against the new policy, but was compelled to take them back in presence of his

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brother-cardinals. The *Giornale di Roma* was suppressed. All through, as when advising the Centre how they should vote on military questions, the Pope argued that his motives of action were religious, not political; nor would he brook the least opposition. Nevertheless, opposition refused to die away. And whereas in Italy the mandate of abstention was obeyed to a large extent, in France the counsel to rally and take part with Government found a multitude of the indifferent or unwilling, and could but win the minority among clergy and people.

A further step was taken in June 1888. The Encyclical 'Libertas' came out. It approved in set terms of the famous distinction between 'thesis' and 'hypothesis,' which, contrasting the ideal of perfect morality in 'Utopian or Atlantic' systems with the world of things as they are, allows of toleration under modern conditions. 'Live and let live,' it said in effect, 'so long as religion is not banished from the public order.' Two years later, since the Royalists would not give in and the Church seemed at a deadlock, Cardinal Lavigerie, in October 1890, called on the Pope and laid before him a Republican programme. Leo did not think it well to act in person. He authorised the Cardinal to accept the Third Republic in his own name. Accordingly, during a banquet given to Admiral Duperre and his Staff in Algiers the following November, the Primate of Carthage raised his glass, amid solemn silence, to the Government by law established. The band struck up the 'Marseillaise.' And the whole nation sprang to its feet in a tremor of excitement. Cardinal Rampolla drove the nail home in a letter to the Bishop of St. Flour. The five French Cardinals bowed their Sicambrian necks and burnt what they had adored. In February the Pope addressed the nation: he owned the Republic; he would not hear of separation between Church and State; he insisted with all right-minded men that they should take advantage of the modern forms. And in high circles it was rumoured that when the Emperor Alexander had read this epoch-making document he observed, 'I see now that the French Republic is neither a dream nor a danger.'

That the clergy would not, in so many words, refuse to

follow where the Pope led, was certain. But many preferred 'the politics which divide' to 'the religion which unites,' while some drew a parallel between the new order in Rome and the Republic in Paris, asking on what principle they were to cleave to the one and despise the other? Royalists joined hands, in effect, with Freemasons, it was said by way of reply; the Pope, with unusual energy, told Mgr. Fava of Grenoble that if anyone had a claim to direct the public action of the faithful, it was their Supreme Pastor. The Count de Mun, a very noble person, became from this moment a Christian Democrat. M. Leroy Beaulieu spoke an eloquent sentence: 'Leo XIII. is guiding the bark of Peter,' he said, 'towards undreamt-of shores; his eyes are fixed on Democracy and the Republic.' The first of Spanish orators, Castelar, exclaimed, 'I know few political manifestoes in history to be compared with this of Leo XIII.' And Archbishop Ireland saluted 'the great principle that no form of government is final,' declared the union of France with the House of Capet dissolved, and called Leo 'the Pope of the Future even more than of the Present.'

But all this appeared a surrender in the eyes of men who did not value measures unless they yielded an immediate return. The French Chambers, like the French Ministers, took whatever the Pope gave; they passed the same laws, and carried them out in the same fierce spirit, which had so long made every understanding impossible. M. Spüller has observed that the politics of Leo XIII. were expectant, depending on ideas which would take time to filter in, and on a mental change in Catholics themselves; but that he had restored the Church's influence, and that his principles would survive him. In 1870, on the eve of the Vatican Council, Louis Veuillot had hailed from afar the 'Holy Roman Democracy.' So others before him, Ozanam, Ventura, Chateaubriand. But the prophet who soared above them all was Lamennais. With what bright eyes, with what a palpitating heart, would he have read these Encyclicals! Sixty years after he had cast his bread upon stormy waters, it was found, neither corrupt nor deadly. If Lamennais had uttered extravagances, none were hardy enough to charge Leo XIII.

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with error in doctrine. Yet he was taking up the Republican ideas almost at the point where 'L'Avenir' had been compelled to let them fall.

His prestige attained its height in this memorable year 1890. For it was known that he had been preparing, since the Labour Congress at Berlin, a pronouncement in favour of the more humane economics which were transforming the 'dismal science' to a branch of ethics and even of Christian brotherhood. Many causes had combined to clear the air. Among them was the incessant discussion about property, its rights and its duties, which sprang out of the land agitation in Ireland. Leo XIII. did not for several years grasp the situation as conceived by the Nationalists and their followers. He sent Archbishop McCabe a cardinal's hat, to the loud discontent of that powerful party. When Dr. Walsh was proposed for Dublin, he called Archbishop Moran from the Antipodes, intending to bestow on a moderate man, nephew of Cardinal Cullen, the vacant position. But it could not be done, and Dr. Moran took back with him the purple of the Sacred College, as the reward of his voyage from the underworld. In like manner the Pope forbade collections at the church-doors on behalf of a testimonial to the Home Rule leader. In 1886 Mgr. Persico was despatched to Ireland that he might report on 'boycotting' and the 'Plan of Campaign.' He did so, after taking counsel with Dr. Walsh and Cardinal Manning. His report was shelved: Propaganda condemned both those expedients; but Manning considered that the facts of the case had been overlooked, and that the Irish Roman Catholic Bishops ought to have been entrusted with the promulgation of these Decrees, which were not immediately effective. Analogous questions came up when the Knights of Labour—at that time an exceedingly powerful society in America—were condemned by some French Canadian bishops. Mgr. Taschereau of Quebec had even got their action confirmed at Rome in 1884. But two years later the dispute was opened once more. Cardinal Gibbons addressed the Pope in a Memorandum which made the deepest impression, and which was enforced by Cardinal Manning, to point out that economic monopoly could be

resisted only by a confederation of labour, and that workmen had an undoubted right to combine. 'Hitherto,' said Manning, 'the world has been governed by dynasties; henceforth the Holy See must deal with the people.' These arguments prevailed; the prohibition was withdrawn in August 1888. During a short but momentous interval, Anglo-American counsels were eagerly accepted by Pope Leo; and under their impulse he delivered to the world that Encyclical 'On the Condition of the Working Class' which is probably the greatest event of his reign (May 1891).

To discuss, or even sketch, its provisions would take us beyond our limits. And it has been already criticised from every point of view. It denounces in scathing terms the abuses of Capitalism; but it condemns no less heartily Communism, which the Pope seems to look upon as the only form of economics imagined by those who term themselves Socialists. This account of the matter the English and other moderate schools are by no means willing to entertain. As against *laissez-faire*, the principle of our Factory Laws is laid down, together with the duty of Sunday rest and the like moral obligations. The workman is entitled to a decent 'living wage,' not from charity, but as a matter of justice. These and similar announcements of an ideal which need not be far from practice, if men chose, were received with enthusiasm by his own flock, and with respectful sympathy by the world at large. To quote M. Ollivier's phrase, 'it was an admirable moment in Papal history'; but perhaps M. de Vogüé expressed the general feeling better still: 'The Holy Father has not indeed solved the social problem,' he wrote, 'but he has stated it more precisely than was ever done before, by tracing it to those hidden sources from which the woes of humanity spring; and he has fearlessly chosen his part with the weak and feeble.' He has appealed, said the same writer, 'to Ethical—nay, to Christian—ideas, with no less courage in expounding principles than wise moderation in carrying them out.'

What have been the results? Books, congresses, discussions to the infinite, certainly. But likewise a movement so vast on the surface that we dare not attempt a map of it. In

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Germany the Catholic party has done much to hold back destructive Socialism; the Belgian Government is always intent on putting into practice the Papal programme; it has secured a footing in Switzerland, and is not without champions like the Abbé Lemire in France. But it is among Italian peasants in Lombardy, and especially at Bergamo, that the effects of this larger economic view are most striking and may be permanent. The pilgrimages of French working men, led by M. Harmel, continued all through Pope Leo's reign. If an extreme form of Socialist propaganda should ever frighten Governments, and the day dawn when it is said, 'la Commune, voilà l'ennemi!' a coalition between the Roman Church, the Constitutional States abroad, and a large section of the working class may be anticipated with confidence. For such a union the Encyclical, just because it is in theory somewhat of a compromise, would be admirably suited. Its moderation may prove to be its strength. But meanwhile it has done much to prevent an early crisis, and to smooth over transitions, should they turn out to be inevitable.

Such were the lines of high diplomacy on which Leo XIII. proceeded in dealing with his time. They mark the close not only of the Legitimist reaction, so far as Rome took part in it, but of the Manchester-Liberal era denoted by the word *laissez-faire*. In Church, as in State, a kind of humane Imperialism now opposed itself to the wild or over-driven 'atomic theory,' which had swept all before it in the days of Bentham, Cobden, Mill, Mazzini, and the French Radicals. But in the Pope's management of discipline, as in his administration at large, the same trend was visible. His critics murmured that Leo was despotic and arbitrary. They meant, among other things, that he drew the threads of government closely to Rome. He set up National Colleges for Lombards, Bohemians, Greeks, Spaniards, and many other peoples near the Vatican. At St. Petersburg and Washington he fixed Apostolic Delegations. He would gladly have established a Nuncio at Westminster, if the joint declarations of Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Manning had not shown it to be impossible. The journey of Mr. Errington to St.

Peter's was hardly a creditable, because a stolen, visit, and would not bear repeating. Nor did the great religious Orders escape from this new system. The Benedictines were brought under an Abbot Primate, much against their tradition. The divided Franciscans were compelled to unite as Friars Minor. Even La Trappe was to have its General in Rome. Everywhere the word was 'Centralize.'

Yet with a notable difference. Towards the Eastern Churches, Uniate or Dissident, Pope Leo followed a more accommodating rule. In the Constitution '*Orientalium*,' December 1894, nothing less than their complete internal autonomy is guaranteed: rites, customs, language, separate life, are to be their own, provided they acknowledge the common Creed and the Papal supremacy. This was to lift the question of reunion, observes M. Guillermin, beyond the time of Cerularius and Photius; it was to recognize a primitive basis of distinction, and reverse the policy which, against Benedict XIV.'s wise tolerance, had aimed at absorbing these communities into the Latin Patriarchate. With Ruthenians and the Slav ritual Leo dealt on the same broad principles as with Greeks, Copts, and Syrians. The claims of antiquity won from him a respectful hearing. His Encyclical which denounced Nihilism had been read in all the churches of Russia by Imperial command. At the beginning of his reign he brought to an end the Armenian schism, which had lasted since 1870. He bestowed on Mgr. Hassun the cardinal's hat, received the submission of several thousand Chaldean Christians, appointed a Patriarch of the Copts, endowed a great college at Beyrut. He sent Cardinal Langénieux to preside over the Eucharistic Congress in Jerusalem in 1893, and he wrote to Menelik of Abyssinia on behalf of the Italians who were taken at Adowa. To the Roman Breviary he added the festivals of Justin Martyr, the two Eastern Cyrils, John of Damascus, and the Slavonians Cyril and Methodius. But to these advances neither Moscow nor Constantinople has made reply. Yet the Constitution '*Praeclara*,' published in 1894, will remain as a draft or protocol on which, at some future day, the union of the Churches may be attempted.

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Never afraid of stretching out his cords, this energetic Pontiff has added two hundred and twenty-six new titles of jurisdiction to the Roman Hierarchy. These include thirty archbishops, a hundred bishops, sixty vicars, and thirty 'prefects Apostolic.' The fresh provinces thus constituted extend from Scotland to Bosnia, to Egypt, the East Indies, China, and Japan. Many Sees have been erected in the United States, Brazil, and other parts of the New World. A Latin-American Council, held in 1899 at Rome, and attended by fifty-three prelates, drew up an extensive plan of reformation which is now being carried out with more or less vigour. It may be well to bear in mind that, with the exception of the greater part of Canada and of the United States, all countries on the American Continent are Roman Catholic in creed, though their Governments have frequently come into collision with the clergy and willingly imitate the French Radicals.

No small part of the growing influence wielded by Pope Leo was due to his green old age, his continual reception of pilgrims in St. Peter's, and the splendid festivals called Jubilees which he celebrated in 1888, 1893, 1900, and 1903. Though not possessing the fervid eloquence and easy grace that adorned Pius IX., he was always dignified and impressive, and at last singularly touching in the transparent weakness of his ninety years. His private habits were simple, he 'lived on a franc a day and earned it'; his health was good, though never robust, and his devotion to work unceasing. No breath of scandal could tarnish so austere an existence. Some have judged Leo XIII. as being more of a politician than a saint. But he lived up to a lofty standard, while his Letters which dealt with spiritual themes were frequent, earnest, and occasionally almost tender. By themselves they would form an edifying volume. When he addressed strangers to the Roman Church, as in the appeals put forth to the English or Scottish nation, it was evident that he had sought out points of agreement rather than of difference, although, as might be expected, the peculiar strength of religion in Great Britain was a subject beyond his purview. That it rested on the Bible he did indeed acknowledge; and this was a fresh note in Papal Encyclicals. Whatever

may be our opinion of the Bull 'Apostolicae Curae,' in which the Orders of the Church of England were disowned, two remarks will occur to the historian of a curious chapter—Pope Leo himself, it is known, was personally desirous to make the largest admissions; and, though assenting to his advisers, the tone in which he confirmed their report was not that of acrimonious controversy. But on this matter we need not dwell in a sketch like the present.

Reconciliation, or, as M. de Blowitz wrote in 1892, 'the problem of universal brotherhood,' filled Leo's thoughts and shaped his actions during fifteen crowded years. Never did he travel from the Roman point of view; it would be utterly mistaking the man to suppose that he had given up one jot or tittle of the pretensions advanced by his predecessors. But he searched for the elements of good where Gregory XVI. or Pius IX. had seen only the evil. And in so doing he came athwart groups of the irreconcilable in every land. They distrusted his methods; they gloated over his failures. What had he gained by all those concessions to Prince Bismarck? The Triple Alliance stood as firm as ever. How much had any French Government allowed him for his vote and interest, which broke the Catholics into more factions than before? The Ferry laws had not been repealed; clerics were still liable to conscription; hospitals were deprived of the Sisters of Charity; heavier taxes were laid on religious Associations. That was all the Pope had won by turning Liberal and American. For his policy had ceased to be Latin. He was obeying a small but dangerous camarilla of English-speaking prelates—Cardinal Manning had led the way; now Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop Ireland, and some others dictated those State papers in which the world listened to an unheard-of language. Yet to attack the Pope directly was out of the question. His counsellors must be assailed, and if possible overthrown, by insinuations of heresy.

We have seen how the Pontiff had aimed at restoring Catholic philosophy by setting up again St. Thomas Aquinas. The Encyclical 'Aeterni Patris,' of August 1879, began a series, which we shall not pursue, of documents enforcing this programme upon bishops, seminaries, universities; upon the

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Jesuits who desired a larger freedom; upon the Franciscans who pleaded for their Scotus and Bonaventura. But the Pope felt supreme confidence in his Angelic Doctor as a match for modern aberrations. With equal courage he threw open the Vatican Library to students; he put fresh life into the reading and writing of history; he dictated glowing panegyrics of Dante, Tasso, and the Roman Academies; he composed elegant Latin poems, and was never weary of holding up the Church as foster-mother of arts, letters, and learning. A student himself, it is in these discourses that he strikes a personal note. By diploma he founded universities at Fribourg and Washington; he increased the faculties of Maynooth and Louvain; he allowed English Roman Catholics to attend Oxford and Cambridge. But it was the conflict awakened by his dealings at Washington that brought to the surface a reaction, urged forward on both sides of the Atlantic, which was associated with the vague term of 'Americanism,' and which cast its shadow over his declining years.

There is much or little in a name so elastic; yet it may serve to indicate the currents which from about 1893 perplexed Leo's policy and flowed on towards the coming reign. Two Apostolic Letters, remarkably different in tone, give the light and shade of this great contest as the Pope viewed it—'Longinqua Oceani,' dated January 1895, and 'Testem Benevolentiae,' at the beginning of 1899. From these it would appear that the principle of Disestablishment, fatal to Concordats, was spreading among the French clergy, as it had long been carried out in the United States. Now, Pope Leo had concluded no fewer than twenty Concordats himself. Again, certain false ideas of a mystical or antisacerdotal character had been ascribed to Father Hecker, the Paulist, of whom we have spoken in a recent number of this Review. The Pope reprobated these extravagances. But he was careful not to condemn the American Constitution which he had already praised: in 1892 he had exclaimed, 'Columbus noster est,' when taking part in the national celebration of the discovery of America; his Delegate, Mgr. Satolli, had appeared on his behalf at the Exposition of

Chicago; and his relations with the various Presidents—above all, with Mr. McKinley—were intimate and cordial. The dangers which he apprehended when he spoke against a false 'Americanism' did not exist in America, but in France. There the younger clergy were becoming restive: some would have thrown off the yoke of the State altogether. And the problems of Bible criticism, of a less formal spirituality, and of the 'liberty of prophesying' had begun to make themselves felt in many directions.

On certain of these matters Leo may have held no clear opinion; on others he was of the old-fashioned school; and the men by whose judgment he acted—as Mazzella, the Jesuit Cardinal, his own pupil Satolli, and the Consultors of Congregations as a whole—were not disposed to grant any part of the modern contention. In politics a change was setting forward with great violence. Under Cardinal Rampolla the German influence fell almost to zero. France was to be the friend and protector of the Papacy. The Latin nations must make a stand against American ideas. Events like the war in Cuba, and the *affaire* which brought French reputation so low, acted at once as a warning and an incentive. To this period belong a number of disconnected yet similar measures, tending to repression or serving as a protest—like the Encyclical 'Providentissimus Deus'—in 1893, various letters to French bishops and ecclesiastics, the censure of Dr. Schell's works in Germany, and the revised *Index of Forbidden Books*, which came out in September 1900. It should not be forgotten, however, that Leo himself, by instituting a Commission on the Sacred Scriptures, has formally acknowledged the duties or the claims of Biblical criticism. Nor could he be prevailed upon to condemn the works of the Abbé Loisy. Among political signs, the gravest was a return to former customs, which gave Italian cardinals more than two-thirds of a share in the Sacred College. Leo, at the height of his vigour and fame, had reduced the number to one-half. Now, of sixty cardinals, forty-nine were Latin. His latest appointments were of men who enjoyed official station, but did not aspire to anything more. All the symptoms which wait about the deathbed of a long reign were visible as the twentieth

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century opened its gates on an unknown future. When the Pope lay dying there was sadness in the lines that he wrote. Perhaps he felt that his policy was ending in reaction; that the old system had been too strong for him; and that he left among the members of the future Conclave no heir to his ideas.

We may still inquire in what condition Leo XIII. has left this great spiritual kingdom to his successor. He did not solve the question of the Temporal Power, but neither did he abandon Rome. With this observation we begin. Many disagreeable incidents, such as the riots which broke out round Pius IX.'s funeral, the celebration of Giordano Bruno, the Congress of Freemasons, and the quarrel with French pilgrims in the Pantheon, prove how slight a spark might kindle a fierce flame which would not spare the Vatican itself. When Abbot Tosti, at the Pope's own prompting, touched the dangerous matter, it blazed out so furiously upon him that he died. There are those, like Mr. Marion Crawford, who tell us that the Pope could not have appeared in the streets of Rome without risk of assassination. But although extreme parties will not lay down their arms, between Vatican and Quirinal in the days of Leo there was a good understanding. The Pope always upheld abstention in politics, perhaps lest Catholic weakness might be discovered, as in France, at the polls. To this object, Padre Murri and the Christian Democratic movement were sacrificed in 1902 by the Cardinal-Secretary. On the other hand, by means of the Conservative members who controlled many Italian town councils, by the social help which he gave through congresses, banks, and organized charity, Pope Leo did much to stave off revolution. Old memories were fading; the people longed for peace and a little prosperity; and while the Vatican has done nothing to hasten a solution, time 'the great innovator' is perhaps doing its work. The Roman Question has entered on a second stage, and a permanent *modus vivendi* may be the result.

Neither did Leo meet the demands of intellectual peace adequately; the world is not yet satisfied to follow Aquinas or any of the schoolmen; the deep things of evolution in

biology are as problematic as before ; and science goes its own way. Yet within the Roman Church studies were revived and fostered, though checked latterly by a discipline which did little else than mark time. It may be said that modern questions have now got a footing among the more learned clergy, and that is probably true ; but in this gradual widening of interests Leo XIII. did not play the most effective part. In the Labour Question he was more successful, as he showed greater daring. He strove to become 'the working man's Pope.' His political efforts, as we saw, failed to win an immediate recompense. The end of his reign was marked by universal disaster to the religious Orders in France, by their exile or suppression, a quarrel over the appointment of bishops with M. Combes, and the decided weakening of the Concordat. These things had been preceded by a sudden revival in England of the No Popery agitation, and by all the unpleasantness wrongly or rightly attaching to those who held Dreyfus guilty. In Austria the movement 'Los von Rom' may have been chiefly political ; but it employed religious and anti-Catholic watchwords. The Americans felt coldly towards a Pope who had affixed their country's name to doctrines which he condemned and they had never owned. Other facts of a similar complexion might be added. Nevertheless, by his action as well as his teaching, Leo shook off the incubus which for a hundred years and more had been fastened on the Church ; he broke the entangling alliance of 'Altar and King,' he disowned the Bourbons, and he blessed Democracy altogether. If the Roman Pontiff could not be reconciled with 'progress, Liberalism, and modern civilization,' taken in a bad sense, he could show that they were capable of a better, and, as it was boldly said, he might baptize 1789 after receiving its abjuration. No later Pope can undo these things. With Pius IX. the old order came at last to an end : with Leo XIII. the new has started on its way. He cannot soon be forgotten ; and his virtues, his accomplishments, his courage, and even his failures, make him a noble figure in the dynasty which with his name begins a fresh period under modern conditions.

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SHORT NOTICES.

I. DOGMATIC THEOLOGY.

The Fatherhood of God. By J. SCOTT LIDGETT, M.A.
(Edinburgh : T. and T. Clark, 1902.)

THIS book, considering that it was prepared in 'short intervals of leisure left by increasing public engagements,' is remarkable for the exhaustiveness of its treatment of most of the aspects of the great doctrine with which it deals. The writer discusses fully the doctrine of the Fatherhood of God in the New Testament, its place in New Testament theology, its development in the Old Testament, and its history in the Church down to the present time. Material is thus collected which has perhaps not been so comprehensively and compactly brought together before. The later chapters deal with the validity and contents of the doctrine in question and its relation to other Christian truths. These are somewhat lacking in philosophical profundity, but contain much that is suggestive and valuable. The different senses in which Fatherhood may be predicated of God are generally clearly distinguished. The relation of the Father to the co-eternal Son is not so fully dwelt upon as that of God to man, which includes the relation through Christ, the other side of which assumes in the New Testament the aspects of 'adoption' and 'regeneration.' In this latter main sense 'fatherhood' is rightly represented as a moral relationship of intimate communion rather than as one of creation out of God's own life. Perhaps the author, as his purpose is partly apologetic, might, in this connexion, have said more of the present-day difficulties to faith arising, for many minds, out of the limitations to man's knowledge of God and His providence, rendering *full* rational co-operation of son with Father necessarily impossible, and out of the evil in his environment for which man himself is not responsible.

The Creeds. By ALFRED G. MORTIMER, D.D., Rector of St. Mark's, Philadelphia. Price 5s. net. (London : Longmans, 1902.)

THE first part of this book is devoted to the history of the Creeds, the second to exposition. Dr. Mortimer gives us a good deal of information about recent research, but is not acquainted at first hand with some German writers to whom he refers. Thus he gives an inadequate account of Dr. Dörholt's first volume, *Das Taufsymbolum der alten Kirche*, as quoting from another writer a theory of the origin of the Apostles' Creed, whereas it is a masterly survey of the

literature of the subject. He gives a good account of the problems suggested by the early history of the Apostles' Creed and of Dr. Hort's theory that our Nicene Creed is the revised Creed of Jerusalem. The chapter on the Athanasian Creed shows traces of hasty work. There is no reference to important early manuscripts at Karlsruhe, Lyons, Munich, or St. Gallen. And there are inaccurate statements, such as the following (p. 92): 'The only manuscript of the Apostles' Creed with *ad inferos* is the Irish eighth-century *Antiphonary of Bangor*,' which might have been easily corrected by reference to Hahn's *Bibliothek der Symbole*. The theological teaching of the second part is unsatisfactory, and cannot be described as 'uncontroversial,' though that is the author's aim. Thus the teaching on the Eucharistic sacrifice, regarded as identical with the 'Sacrifice of Calvary' and as perpetuating it (p. 171), draws our thoughts away from the Perpetual Intercession in heaven with which we ought rather to connect it, but in which (according to the teaching on p. 198) 'there is no sacrificial action whatever.' And our Church does not hold that 'Justification and Sanctification are substantially the same thing, though the same thing viewed from two different standpoints' (p. 186).

Atonement and the Eucharist. By WILLIAM KERR-SMITH, M.A.
(London: Wells Gardner, Darton, and Co., 1901.)

IN the following sentences of his Introduction the author of this volume sets forth the aim he has proposed to himself in writing it. He is of opinion that

'What English Churchmen need is some theological exposition which sets out simply and clearly the philosophical principles on which doctrine and worship are alike based. To steady their faith men need a reasonable system of religious philosophy to which they may on occasion appeal for its justification. The appeal to Scripture is not sufficient, because it is not difficult by passing over this, emphasizing that, or reading one's own views into the other passage, to make out a very plausible case for any dogma that it is desired to defend. The appeal to history is even more unsatisfactory. With a little ingenuity, and a natural aptitude for research, one may find precedents for anything.'

'The chief concern of the author is the exaltation of the Sacrament of the Eucharist to its true position as the pivot and centre of doctrine and of life. It appears to him that it is not possible to grasp the full meaning of that Sacrament without the previous, or at any rate the concurrent, acceptance of a definite theory of Atonement. He has endeavoured to show that the sacrificial system of the old covenant was constructed on some such definite theory, and he is convinced that the principles which underlie the ritual of revelation from the beginning are

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identical in their essence with those that justify and, in his view, illuminate the ordinances of a Christian Faith.'

This object Mr. Kerr-Smith proceeds to work out by first clearing away some popular and widespread misconceptions which seem to him still to need removing—*e.g.* the error that regards salvation in the main with reference to deliverance from a threatened punishment, but one which with precaution may be avoided. The subjects of the first two chapters are 'God's Sentence against Sin' and 'The Sufferings and Death of Christ an Adequate Confession of the Sin of Man.' These sufferings, he insists, were a counterpart of our sufferings, and not a substitution for them. The third chapter is devoted to combating or modifying some explanations of the doctrine of the Atonement, which the author deems inadequate, especially one aspect of it propounded in the late Archbishop Magee's work on the Atonement—not, we may remark in passing, the much larger work on the same subject by Archbishop Magee of *Dublin*, published in 1816 in three volumes. This though a very learned and notable is now an obsolete work. Such is the fate of the more voluminous treatises of the past, and no doubt such will be the fate, more or less certainly, of the smaller, and often on that account better, publications of our own time—*habent sua fata libelli*. While praising the late Archbishop of York for 'lifting the discussion into more spacious regions of thought than those in which it more usually moves' (p. 42), Mr. Kerr-Smith challenges his opinion on more than one point. It requires some boldness to attribute 'confusion of thought' to such a clear-headed thinker and close reasoner as Magee, but our author does not shrink from doing so. He has ignored, he says,

'the distinction between forgiveness itself, and the effect which such forgiveness may be considered to have upon the relationship between forgiver and forgiven. The Archbishop seems only to have contemplated one possible issue of forgiveness, namely, remission of penalty, and to have overlooked the fact that there is another issue of vastly greater moment than this, one which, indeed, is essential to the existence of true forgiveness, which remission of penalty is not—we mean the effectual reconciliation of the offender and the offended.'

Again he had overlooked, he says, the fact

'that men do suffer the consequences of sin, and that the dread anticipation of hell is in itself no part of the measure of just retribution allotted by the Heavenly Father as necessary to be endured by men on account of sin, with a view to the vindication of the righteousness which He seeks to achieve in each of us.'

We may be permitted in connexion with the subject of this volume, dealing as it does with some of the profoundest subjects that ever have or ever can occupy the mind of man, to recall a few of Dr. Campbell's concluding words, which are not, if we remember right, quoted by Mr. Kerr-Smith :

'I have not attempted to divest the subject of the Atonement of all mystery. I have not cherished the hope, or in truth the desire, to do so. Reason has its mysteries as well as revelation, and to shrink from mysteries is to shrink from all deep thinking on any of the high problems of our existence.'¹

What is needed, in the opinion of our author, is 'some work which shall link together the theology of Campbell with the Sacrament of the Holy Communion.' And that is the task that he has set himself to perform.

Much of the ground here gone over has no doubt been traversed before. It is when we come to the chapter on the old covenant sacrifices, and the two which follow it, that the most distinctive part of Mr. Kerr-Smith's volume comes out. We have already quoted from his Introduction a passage in which he states his belief in the existence of an analogy between the older sacrificial system and the Christian ordinances. Without going into further detail we may say that he divides sacrifices into conciliatory and eucharistical, each of which consists of two distinct acts : (1) the symbolical act itself, or the *sacrifice* proper ; (2) the bringing of a symbolical act to the notice of God, or the *memorial* of the sacrifice.

On Mr. Kerr-Smith's *à priori* reasoning for expecting to find something in the Christian dispensation corresponding to the latter we do not pause, but come at once to his rendering of the words *τοῦτο ποιεῖτε εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάμνησιν* by 'offer this for My memorial,' in which he follows Scudamore in his *Notitia Eucharistica*. The word *ἀνάμνησις* (he adds) 'is here employed in a special sense to denote a sacrificial memorial.' 'There is no doubt, from the evidence of those passages in Jewish-Greek literature which illustrate the use of the word, that it had come to have the same meaning as *μνημόσυνον*, and that in the time of our Lord it was probably considered as a proper equivalent of the Hebrew word *Azkarathah*.'

Without going at length into an examination of the two words *ἀνάμνησις* and *μνημόσυνον*, we may say that the sense proposed to be given to the former in the three New Testament passages where it occurs (Luke xxii. 19 ; 1 Cor. xi. 24-25 ; Heb. x. 3) does not seem justified. From the usage in the LXX we should conclude that if

¹ *Contemporary Review*, June 1878.

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a Greek writer wished to express the technical sense of memorial the word he would have used would be *μνημόσυνον*. Dr. Plummer on the Lucan passage says that no mere record or memorial is signified by the word, but a continued calling to mind of Christ, a finer and higher idea than that which Mr. Kerr-Smith would prefer. T. K. Abbot, to whom he refers, proves that a sacrificial meaning is no more to be obtained from *ἀνάμνησιν* than from *ποιεῖτε*. He points out that *ἀνάμνησις* (apart from Psalm titles) only occurs twice in the LXX. In Lev. xxiv. 7 the 'shewbread' the translators purposely rendered, not by *μνημόσυνον*, but by *ἀνάμνησις*, because they saw that the cakes of shewbread were not burned. 'They knew well enough what an *azkārâh* was, and knew that the cakes which were not burned could not be that.' 'Even the assertion that *μνημόσυνον* is sacrificial is not true. . . . The LXX Greek for a sacrificial memorial is not *μνημόσυνον*, but *θυσία μνημοσύνου*.' With regard to the passage in the Epistle to the Hebrews, though there is a direct reference to the Old Testament sacrifices, there seems to be no allusion to the technical name borne by a portion of those sacrifices. Our author would seem not to have studied all the literature on this subject.

In leaving Mr. Kerr-Smith's volume we may say that while some matters of detail are open to question, and while we do not find the promise of philosophy made in the Introduction (at least, in the higher sense of the word as employed, e.g., by Principal Caird) carried out in the sequel, we recognize in it much conscientious work and earnest thought. In the chapter on the primitive forms of service there is a tabular view of the ante-Nicene liturgies which is useful and interesting.

The Revelation of the Holy Spirit. By J. E. C. WELLDON, lately Bishop of Calcutta. (London: Macmillan, 1902.)

A REVERENT book on this subject is always welcome; and, in a way, the limitations of Bishop Welldon's work make it specially welcome. It is not a learned book, or a very spiritual book, or a book of great insight. It is written for ordinary readers, and from their standpoint. It might have been written by almost anybody possessing a Bible, a fair knowledge of Greek, a note book, and diligence. That it was partly written amid the distractions of an Indian episcopate, aggravated, as we regret to know, by impaired health, may give cause for thought to those priests who plead their parochial occupations as an excuse for neglect of study and an impoverished ministry in the pulpit.

The Revelation of the 'Spirit of God' in the Old Testament is shown to develop in the New Testament into the Revelation of the

'Holy Spirit,' whose Divine Personality is implied in the Baptismal Formula, in the Apostolic Benediction, and in the whole tenor of the Gospel, none the less certainly because it is nowhere stated in so many words in the Bible. 'The positive truths of religion are not such as are asserted, but such as are assumed' (p. 142). Nor was His Divine Personality merely a doctrine of Holy Scripture, but eminently a fact of experience, when men who had lain in the darkness of Jewish formalism or of heathen vice found themselves to have 'entered a new world, breathed a purer air, became other men' (p. 169). This experience of the reality of the Spirit may be less vivid but is not less certain in the case of those who, having been from their youth partakers of Christian grace, come in due season to a fuller realization of its power. A secondary evidence of the reality of the Holy Spirit is seen by Bishop Welldon in the *charismata* bestowed on the early Church. He regards the gift of tongues at Pentecost as the power of speaking strange languages, but the 'speaking with tongues' at Caesarea, Ephesus, and Corinth as 'only the excited tones of spiritual enthusiasm' (p. 167). The chapter on the 'Revelation in History' (pp. 262-385) gives a good, though necessarily an incomplete, summary of the testimony of general experience to the presence and operation of the Holy Ghost.

Bishop Welldon regards the Church as the normal and ordained sphere of this Revelation of the Spirit; but Christian Society is not contemporaneous with the Christian Church, which is to it as its conscience, or as leaven to the lump (p. 282). While he recognizes a gift of the Holy Spirit in Baptism he regards Confirmation as bestowing 'some further effects and operations of the Holy Spirit' (p. 278); but he abstains—we think, wisely—from all attempts to explain the relation between the two Sacraments. The presence of the Holy Ghost in the whole Church is not inconsistent with a special operation in the ministry, whom He not only illuminates and sanctifies, as He does all men who will receive His grace, but also ordains and endows 'with a certain distinctive spiritual power' (p. 344). He 'believes alike in Episcopacy and in Apostolic Succession' (p. 348), on the rather curious ground that he himself is a bishop; but is he not too sanguine in hailing 'intimations that the non-Episcopal clergy would, in the interests of peace, consent to Episcopal ordination' (p. 350)? With respect to the inspiration of Holy Scripture, he maintains the fact, but gives little light as to its meaning, extent, and limits. He takes a conservative line as to questions raised by Biblical criticism, and by his modesty sets a valuable example to some who take all that is new for true, and pose as critics on grounds little firmer than that they write 'Jahweh' for

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'Jehovah.' We think he falls into a curious error when he asserts (p. 71) that the Docetae taught that the illapse of the Spirit on the man Jesus at His baptism constituted Him Son of God. Rather they solved the antinomy of the Incarnation in the opposite direction, by asserting that 'the Word' was not 'made flesh,' but only assumed a phantasmal semblance of flesh.

Baptism and Regeneration. What is the Relationship between them?
By W. H. K. SOAMES. (London: Elliot Stock, 1902.)

IT is impossible, within the short space at our disposal, even to state, much more to discuss, the important questions which Mr. Soames raises in this 'booklet.' We cordially agree with him in his contention that 'regeneration' and 'conversion' are not the same thing; but there we must stop. When he draws a marked distinction between Biblical theology and Ecclesiastical theology, when he declares his disagreement with the Sacramental teaching of the Church Catechism, and in the same breath talks about 'so many craving or hankering after or re-adopting the old long-ago exploded and ejected errors of Sacerdotalism' (p. 79), it is obvious that he and the *Church Quarterly* must part company.

William Ralph Churton. Theological Papers and Sermons. (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1902.)

A WIDER circle of readers than the late Canon Churton's friends, though they above all, will be grateful for the publication of this volume. It represents the author in each of his capacities of a saintly man, a devoted priest, and a theological scholar. The papers and sermons have been selected and edited by the Canon's brother and sister, and the book is enriched with a memoir of its author and a portrait. The theological and controversial papers deal with the following subjects: The word *ἀρπένους* in the decree of the Council of Chalcedon, St. Hilary of Poitiers, non-communicating attendance, the Devotion of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Original Sin. The theological standpoint of the essays and sermons may best be described as Tractarian. They display considerable historical learning, but do not represent scientific criticism. The discussion of original sin, for instance, collects and illustrates the authoritative ecclesiastical tradition, but avoids the difficulties arising from modern knowledge connected with the subject. A similar deficiency weakens, for a large class of readers, the value of some of the sermons. These, however, contain much that is valuable as devotional reading. The contents of the numerous component parts of the volume cannot be

further discussed here, but the general character of the book has perhaps been sufficiently indicated.

II. APOLOGETICS AND COMPARATIVE THEOLOGY.

A Christian Apologetic. A Volume of 'Handbooks for the Clergy.' General Editor, ARTHUR W. ROBINSON, B.D. By WILFORD L. ROBBINS, D.D., Dean of the Cathedral of All Saints, Albany, U.S.A. Price 2s. 6d. net. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, 1902.)

THE clearness, moderate language, and reasonable tone of this little book make it very useful as a popular treatment of the subject with which it deals. Dr. Robbins assumes that there is a God, and confines his attention, so far as direct statements are concerned, to the branch of apologetics which is concerned with what is distinctively Christian. He sets out in a very fair manner, from the standpoint of one who is considering modern thought and the circumstances of the time, the well-known arguments derived from the moral influence of Christ, the beauty of the portrait of Him contained in the Gospels, His miracles and especially His resurrection, His fulfilment of the Messianic hope, and the spiritual force of the appeal to the signs of Divine life in the Church and in Christians. In distinction from much that is said and written, he brings out well the courage, severity, and strength shown by our Lord. The treatment of the fulfilment of the Old Testament shows how, when some specific prophecies older views of which have been rendered untenable by criticism are no longer used, the hope and portraiture of the Messiah still remains. The handling of the subject of the Resurrection is helpful. In the chapter on the trustworthiness of the records of our Lord's life, there is much that is good on the general authority and reliability of the Gospels; but, though Dr. Robbins says he proposes to deal briefly with the 'higher criticism' of the New Testament so far as it touches apologetics, there is little of value about the questions raised as to the dependableness of the presentation of our Lord's life and teaching by the 'Synoptic problem' and the relation of the Synoptic Gospels to the Fourth Gospel; and this is certainly one of the most pressing matters of the day in apologetics. We are not happy about the passing reference to demoniacal possession in which it is said,

'If it could be proved that the writers of the New Testament were mistaken in their diagnosis of certain diseases, and that they represented their Master as sharing in their ignorance, this would not necessarily impair the soundness of their testimony concerning the moral and spiritual character of Jesus Christ and His teaching.'

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While it is very unwise to dogmatize as to theological conclusions in hypothetical circumstances, many thoughtful and liberal-minded men regard the reality of demoniacal possession as so bound up with our Lord's treatment of and words about the demoniacs, that there are grave difficulties in the supposition that the diseases were of a merely natural character ; and, if the subject was to be mentioned at all, we do not think it should have been handled so lightly as it is in the sentence we have quoted.

The Bible and Modern Criticism. By Sir R. ANDERSON, K.C.B., LL.D., with a Preface by the BISHOP OF DURHAM. (London : Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

WE are somewhat surprised that the Bishop of Durham should commend Sir R. Anderson's rather petulant and disjointed work as 'a remarkable book.' He dissociates himself, indeed, from certain passages which roughly handle 'representatives of the New Criticism,' but he overestimates, as we think, the value and importance of what is after all a clumsily arranged and ill-balanced discussion of Biblical problems and Modern Criticism. The book is, says the Bishop, 'an example of exactly the sort of work which, in my opinion, the Church needs in an eminent degree, and which is, I fear, lamentably rare to-day—the careful study of religious problems by laymen at once open-minded and devout.' Sir R. Anderson's earnestness is unquestionable, but the tone of the book is not what can exactly be called devout, nor is it in any sense judicial in its handling of critical problems. The fact is that the writer is overmastered by an intense suspicion and dislike of the critical movement—or at least of 'our nineteenth-century critics'—a dislike which sometimes breaks out in language of childish petulance, and which seems to us to blind the writer to necessary and important distinctions. Like some other anti-critical works the book shows little or no power of discriminating between extreme and moderate criticism ; and though Sir R. Anderson boldly impugns the authority of 'experts' in matters of criticism, and claims that legal methods of investigation are more likely to be fruitful when applied to literary and historical problems than the methods of criticism, yet he displays very little of the judicial temper throughout the discussion. The 'critics' are condemned in advance. The Higher Criticism is actually described as 'the rationalistic crusade against the Bible.' 'The lesser lights of the Higher Criticism,' we are told, 'have been serving as acolytes in the worship of the new goddess of reason.'

Sir Robert Anderson is, we fear, disqualified as a guide to these matters partly by his overweening self-confidence, partly by his

strong anti-critical bias. The book teems with arrogant and contemptuous references to the work of experts.

We are told, for instance, that 'at Professor Sanday's Oxford Conference . . . the Rev. Mr. Fuller, of the "Cowley Fathers," was the only member who seemed to grasp the elementary truth that the work of priesthood began after the sacrifice had been killed,' &c. Again, 'In the Revised Version of the New Testament textual criticism has done its worst . . . Here [the reference is to St. Luke ii. 14], as in so many other instances, the Revisers' changes in the text are new errors, and not the correction of old errors. And yet the fact remains . . . that even a revision conducted so unwisely, and on a system so opposed to all the principles and rules of evidence, has not destroyed a single truth of Christianity,' &c.

It will be sufficiently clear, we think, that Sir Robert Anderson is not to be lightly accepted as an authority in matters of Biblical Criticism. So far as he pleads for more seriousness of temper, and a deeper reverence, on the part of those whose duty compels them to take part in discussions about the Bible, we are heartily in accord with him. But we greatly regret that he should himself have rushed into the fray so slenderly equipped with the exact knowledge, and the faculty of patient discrimination, which are necessary for useful participation in a learned controversy.

The Integrity of Scripture. Plain Reasons for rejecting the Critical Hypothesis. By the Rev. J. SMITH, M.A., D.D. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

THERE is something pathetic in Mr. Smith's robust faith that the critical movement 'is even already fading away, being smitten by its own excesses'; that it 'has failed, and, having failed, it should be set aside.' In any case, we cannot think that Mr. Smith has contributed in any degree to the supposed collapse of the critical position. He offers us what we can only pronounce to be a singularly ineffective defence of the traditional position. Nothing could in fact be weaker and more evasive than the general argument of the book. The writer in no single case seems to us to grapple with the undeniable facts of which modern criticism professes to give a coherent account. In some cases he himself suggests the answer to his own statements. For instance, in chap. i. he says:

'As we see in the New Testament, God comes in the glory of a complete revelation which creates or controls the dispensation. What, then, is the irresistible inference but that God did the same in Old Testament times? Yet that is the very conception which our critic has, to begin with, rejected.'

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Quite so, and how does the critic's position differ from that of Mr. Smith himself, who on a previous page writes:

'God's discovery of Himself, as we might expect, is not an episode, but rooted in a vast breadth of the world's life . . . growing from less to more, as in this Divine education and discipline man became capable of receiving the full self-unveiling of God.'

On the whole we doubt whether anything can be gained by arguing with a writer who, in the course of a long, desultory, and ill-arranged discussion, gravely defends the Mosaic authorship of even the first eleven chapters of Genesis, argues against the critical analysis of the Pentateuchal documents, insists upon our Lord's authority as endorsing the traditional view of the Pentateuch, and defends the Solomonian authorship of Ecclesiastes, to say nothing of the Proverbs and Cantica.

'Under the fascination,' he says, 'of a baseless theory, it has seemed a wise thing to carry down a book like Ecclesiastes to a date when similar speculations were known outside . . . and to describe the Proverbs as a collection gradually formed and issued late. The conception of a natural development in Israel, not fundamentally dissimilar from that of other nations, has been a determining element in all these conclusions.'

We cannot deny that some recent developments of criticism, as exhibited, for example, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, are to a great extent responsible for some of Mr. Smith's extraordinary assertions; but, like some other defenders of traditional views, he lacks the gift of discrimination. We take leave of his book by reminding him that, whatever his own personal convictions may be, that hypothesis will ultimately hold the field in matters of Old Testament criticism which explains the largest number of disputed facts. We may remind him also of Dr. Sanday's cautiously expressed opinion that 'the future is likely to yield data which are more and not less favourable' to the general conception which criticism has formed of the origin and date of the Old Testament books.¹

What am I to Believe? By G. H. JOHNSON, M.A. (London : Skeffington, 1902.)

THIS book is a defence of the Catholic Faith; and it is written in a charitable spirit; yet we are unable to commend it. Plain folk need simple arguments, but these want a master to express them; and Mr. Johnson does not show any mastery. He urges rightly that we need not only the Bible but also the Church to interpret it. Good; but when we admit the need of the Church we have still to

¹ *Bampton Lectures on 'Inspiration,'* p. 116.

discover what the Church teaches ; and on some points the tradition of the Church is no less ambiguous than the teaching of Holy Scripture. All our controversy with Rome—and it is folly to assert that the points on which we differ are 'of no consequence, or at least of minor importance' (p. 86)—turns not on the question whether the Church is a Divinely authorized guide, but what is the doctrine of the Church?

Again, what are the correlative rights of the Society and the individual? Have conscience and reason done their work when they have recognized the Church as the guide (p. 9), and have they nothing to say to the contents of her message?

Some great truths are expressed in the book, and there are some telling illustrations, but we cannot advise people to commit themselves to a writer who asserts that the 'two lights before the Sacrament' are ordered by the First Prayer Book of Edward (p. 132); that the Privy Council in the Lincoln case pronounced the Eucharistic vestments legal (p. 139); or that Bishop Blomfield denounced the surplice in the pulpit (p. 123).

The Truth of Christianity. By Major W. H. TURTON, R.E.
4th edition. (London: Jarrold and Sons, 1902.)

THE service of his country in South Africa has not hindered the gallant writer of this valuable book from revising it for its fourth thousand. It bears, if we may say so, something of a military stamp in its orderly marshalling of arguments, its brave facing of difficulties, and its candid admission that probabilities are not certainties, and that some questions are beyond the writer's power to answer. We know of no book which we should lend with more hope of advantage to a person who, without professional training in theology or philosophy, is perplexed by the common arguments against the Christian religion, and fears that the verdict of reason is against it.

We may add a little to its usefulness by stating what it does and what it does not aim at. It does not aim at proving the Christian Faith by a logical process. Faith is something beyond argument, a spiritual faculty or gift, convincing to the possessor of it, though not convincing to others (p. 493). But this faculty has to be developed in an environment of considerations capable of logical statement—considerations which may perhaps be inimical to faith and tend to convict it of credulity, but which may accord with its assertions and thus support its claims. It is not, therefore, necessary that these considerations should be shown to lead irrefutably to a Christian conclusion, so that he who does not reach that conclusion is either insincere or incapable of logical thought. It will be enough

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if the consideration of them discloses nothing contrary to the Faith ; and more than enough if it be shown that the balance of probability is on the whole on the side of Faith. We think that Major Turton has generally achieved this aim ; and if here and there he seems to put aside a difficulty too summarily his success in the main does not suffer seriously ; for, considering our ignorance, we cannot be surprised if sometimes a difficulty is beyond our powers of solution. If his method only leads to greater or less probabilities it must not be supposed that the truth of the Christian Religion is to him only probable. He clears the ground of improbabilities that the plant of the certitude of Faith may be free to grow.

Three Bulwarks of the Faith : Evolution, The Higher Criticism, and the Resurrection of Christ. By the Rev. E. H. ARCHER-SHEPHERD, M.A. (London : Rivingtons, 1902.)

THE writer of this book is mainly interested in the results of the Higher Criticism of the Old and New Testaments, in so far as they support an evolutionary conception of nature on the one hand and of Hebrew religion on the other. He aims at supplying, in popular form, 'an introduction to the Higher Criticism,' and his contention is that criticism and science, 'so far from being destructive of dogma, are really confirmatory of it.' Mr. Archer-Shepherd is evidently a zealous student of the late Professor Robertson Smith's well-known books, and we venture to think that it is a proof of his sound judgment that he has selected that truly great writer and thinker as his guide. The first chapter deals with 'The Universe, God and Man' ; the second, with 'Evolution and the Fall of Man.' Three chapters are devoted to different results or aspects of the Old Testament criticism ; the concluding chapter is a defence of the Resurrection, regarded as an historical fact.

Mr. Archer-Shepherd has little to say that is new, but he has read widely and intelligently, and his apologetic chapters give a convenient summary of certain lines of argument which have been brought into prominence by recent theological and scientific writers. In answering the question, 'What ground have we for believing that the world is governed by will?' the author does not make use of the argument which is based on an analysis of human personality, and this strikes us as the main defect in a chapter which is too comprehensive in its survey of widely different classes of facts to be quite effective from an apologetic point of view. In this chapter, as in that on evolution, Mr. Archer-Shepherd does not sufficiently limit his view to the essential point under discussion. He somewhat overloads his pages with

quotations, and does not, perhaps, keep sufficiently distinct the scientific and literary aspects of his subject. The best chapters are undoubtedly those dealing with questions of the Higher Criticism. They display, as might be expected, certain *inégalités d'érudition* (e.g. as to the origin of the name 'Moses'), but they leave little that is useful unsaid. Some sensible advice is given in regard to the problem of teaching the Bible to children. Mr. Archer-Shepherd advises that a boy shall first be taught 'his own religion, before he learns the religion from which it took its rise. Let him be grounded first of all in the Christian Scriptures—the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles. Let him be taught that the light of the sun shines only in them; and that the most luminous part of the Jewish Scriptures is in comparison but as the light of the morning star.' The chapters on 'The Law' and the 'Paschal Lamb' show traces of minute and careful study of Professor Robertson Smith's books, but do not call for special comment. The chapter on the Resurrection states clearly and forcibly the considerations, evidential and moral, which are familiar to most readers of apologetic literature.

On the whole the book deserves commendation as a serviceable introduction to certain questions which no student or teacher of theology can afford to ignore.

We note that two well-known names are misprinted, those of Canon Aubrey Moore and Professor Dillmann.

Religio Medici: Religio Scientiae: Religio Vitae. By a Student of Science and Medicine, 1849-99. Price, 3s. 6d. (Good and Co.)

WE heartily commend the purpose of this book, which is to criticize materialistic views such as are not uncommonly embraced by students of natural science. It is addressed to the general reading public; and in so far as it may serve to correct the hasty inferences of writers such as Haeckel, whose works have doubtless been widely read in England, it may produce beneficial results. But we can hardly recommend it to the learned in philosophy. It is not likely to convince the man of science, because it does not deal with his arguments for a mechanical view of Nature at their best, and fails to appreciate their cogency, such as it is. The author is over-confident as to the impossibility of rational tenure of opinions contrary to his own on many matters, and somewhat rhetorical statement largely usurps the place of convincing argument. The work is a sustained effort to revive the theory of 'vital force,' which, we venture to think, is not essential to a theistic explanation of the living world. Much better apologetic is already accessible. It is not required, for the argument for the existence of God, to demonstrate that biology can

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never become a branch of physics. We fail to see why mechanism as interpreted by the idealist may not be at bottom an expression of immanent spiritual activity or why it is necessary to build the theistic stronghold in the gaps in present scientific knowledge.

Religio Laici. A Series of Studies addressed to Laymen. By the Rev. H. C. BEECHING, M.A. (London : Smith, Elder, and Co., 1902.)

ONE of the gravest symptoms of the Education debates in Parliament was the manifestation of a very strong anti-clerical spirit, which was not shown, we may observe, in older days when the lives of the clergy offered no standing rebuke to the country gentry. But, as this spirit undoubtedly exists, it is well to reckon with it, to try to understand it, and to put ourselves at the lay point of view, as Archbishop Davidson has already done in his first formal pronouncement from Lambeth. We have no desire to drive the wedge deeper which, as Mr. Balfour thinks, is unhappily 'separating certain classes of ecclesiastical opinion from the great body of religious lay opinion in this country.' It is not, however, always easy to get frank expressions of their opinion in conversation with laymen, and though we should put friendly intercourse with educated laymen in the first place of importance, we are sure that Professor Beeching's studies have no low place in helping us to understand the current feelings of the laity on Church matters. He has in view the readers of the weekly and monthly reviews, the persons of general intelligence and education who tend to create the main body of opinion about religious matters. The papers are dedicated to the Bishop of Worcester, and in the first of them, on Christianity and Socialism, Professor Beeching endeavours to meet the too prevalent idea that Christianity is nothing but a refined system of morals, a new Stoicism touched with emotion, upon which the clergy have grafted an alien and unnecessary system of dogmas. With something of the literary charm which made the late Mr. Baldwin Brown's essays so delightful in his treatment of this subject in *Stoics and Saints*, Professor Beeching shows that the Christian religion, unlike Stoicism, has its centre in a divine Person, who alone stands forth as the Pattern Man, who removed by His propitiatory death the burden of the past, and who for days to come supplies grace by which His law of love can be obeyed. The essay on the Spirit of the English Church, as exhibited in the literature of the seventeenth century, which has already appeared in Canon Henson's *Church Problems*, defines and defends the special characteristics of the Church of England among other religious bodies—the reasonable faith, the wide intellectual sympathy, the reserved enthusiasm, the

reverent piety, the sober strength of her typical sons. In the particular cases of Walton and of Donne, the secret of whose effect as a preacher lies in the imaginative intensity with which he realized the being of God, Professor Beeching protests vigorously against the attacks of Mr. Leslie Stephen and Mr. Gosse. The two essays entitled 'Apologia pro clero' are concerned, the first with the indictment that the man in the street is apt to prefer against the clerical order, and the second with a general defence of modern clerical ideals in England. They provide timely reflections both for the clergy and the laity. The three final essays deal with three questions which, says Professor Beeching, are crying out for wise settlement. They are the financial position of the clergy, the controversy about ceremonial, and the place of religion in elementary education. We cannot embark in a short notice upon ceremonial or education, and can only hope that the two essays on these subjects will be widely read. But upon clerical poverty we may say one word, by way of pressing home Mr. Beeching's useful survey of the present position of affairs. The clergy, in many cases, live in the same houses, the houses which are often the largest or the second in size, in the parish now, when their income is two-thirds of its former value, as they lived in then. To the eye they are in the same position as before. And if the mass of the people still suppose them to be well off it is because the clergy do not, and for the most part will not, publish year by year in their parish magazines a full account of their official income, showing the decrease in receipts and the heavy expenses incurred, and comparing lean with fat years. We say without fear of contradiction, and we say in order to stimulate the clergy, that the mass of our parishioners suppose us to be very much better off, from our official income, than is really the case. Let us at least annually put the facts before them.

The Amen of the Unlearned: A Lay Commentary. By M. C. E. Price, 5s. net. (London: Elliot Stock, 1902.)

THIS volume contains a number of papers on Biblical subjects. In an introduction by the editor of the *Spectator*, in which periodical the essays originally appeared, it is stated that they are 'essentially lay commentaries,' a 'free but reverent attempt to draw forth and know the inner meanings of the Bible,' without 'claim either to the standpoint of the higher criticism or to that of the professional theologian.' Consequently, it is no surprise to find that they are not free from mistakes of exegesis, and some statements which it would be difficult to justify. When their method and object are kept in view, they are likely to be helpful in suggesting fresh and profitable lines

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of thought. And even in matters which bear on criticism the writer occasionally puts a point in a happy way, as when he says of the speeches in the Acts—

'Verbal accuracy was surely impossible. It is out of the question. If a speech took some hours to deliver, it is not possible to compress it into a short paragraph and maintain verbal accuracy. All the same, the short report may be a true one. A man may give in ten minutes an account of a speech he has heard in the House of Commons, and may convey truly both the subject-matter of what was spoken, and also the manner and mental characteristics of the speaker, though he give up all attempt at a literal repetition of sentences.'

Religion for the Time; Six Conferences on Natural Religion. By the Rev. ARTHUR B. CONGER. (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Co., 1902.)

THE substance of these addresses and essays is good, the sincerity of the preacher undeniable, the conclusions unimpeachable. They were doubtless beneficial in checking hasty acquiescence in fashionable unbelief. On the question of destructive criticism, and Christ's authority as Teacher, he follows Liddon. Of the general argument not much is original. There is the inevitable reply of Leibnitz, '*nisi ipse intellectus*,' and Berkeley's proof of the untrustworthiness of the mere senses. A few misprints occur: Chrysostom and the dream of Zeronitus (pp. 9, 145). But we must thank Mr. Conger for the exquisite retort (or series of retorts) of the Quaker in the stage coach to the bumptious young Agnostic, ending with, 'Does thee think thee has got any brains?'

Letters to a Godson. Second Series. Christian Doctrine. By M. CYRIL BICKERSTETH, M.A., of the Community of the Resurrection. (London: Mowbray, 1902.)

RECENT controversy about the religious education of the poor should at least have taught us the importance of the religious education of the rich. The preposterous and self-satisfied ignorance of many speakers in Parliament, and their contemptuous dislike of any religious teaching which surpasses a vague and sentimental morality, confirm the foolish boast of one of them that few in the House had learned much from the clergy. The clergy may take blame that the charge is too true, but it is a charge which can never be brought by the lad who was helped in his preparation for confirmation by these letters. The religion which he has learned is no mere sentimentalism, but a Divine Revelation, which demands the devotion of mind, conscience, and will. Mr. Bickersteth explains

the Catholic doctrine of God, the Incarnation, Redemption, the Church, the Sacraments, and the duty of a Christian, in a way which is simple but never shallow. He does not shrink from difficult questions about the inspiration of the Bible, miracles, and prayer; and his genuine liberality is shown by his commendation of such works as Dr. Rashdall's essay in *Contentio Veritatis*. Sometimes, indeed, we are tempted to doubt whether the books which he recommends are not rather beyond the scope of those for whom he writes; but many a boy has a keen intellectual appetite; and such letters will surely be preserved for guidance in later life. And nothing tends more to unbelief than the ignoring of difficulties and the repression of serious questions. We hope that this excellent book will not only serve many young readers, but will also suggest to many godparents a more diligent performance of their duty. It contains a very searching and judicious set of questions of self-examination, which, we are glad to see, may be purchased separately. There seems to be some confusion in the text on p. 269, five lines from the foot.

Comparative Theology. By J. A. MACCULLOCH. Price, 6s.
(London: Methuen and Co., 1902.)

THIS work is the latest addition to the *Churchman's Library*, a series edited by the Rev. J. H. Burn, B.D. It aims at furnishing the student with many of the increasingly abundant facts which 'science of religion' supplies with regard to heathen religions, and at helping him to interpret them in the light of the Christian belief that God never left Himself without witness. It is desirable that the Churchman should thus be put into possession of a treatise on comparative religion written from the standpoint that Christianity is the absolute religion, the more so because many of the experts in this study have not written from the definitely Christian point of view.

The book presents its facts in an interesting manner. It is not for us to inquire into their accuracy, which would involve very considerable labour; but, inasmuch as references are generally given, the reader is enabled to verify them for himself. The author confesses that he has not had access to all the best authorities, and we have ourselves noticed that the vast German literature on the subject is scarcely referred to. This is a defect to be deplored, for in no science perhaps do the statements of the authorities more need balancing against each other. Nevertheless Mr. Macculloch has collected a very large amount of useful material, and much of it relates to subjects which we cannot remember having been similarly treated before. Thus, besides the more familiarly known pagan

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resemblances to our doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Atonement, and the future life, ideas remotely analogous to ours with regard to a Saviour, the Church, and the Communion of Saints, and inspiration of sacred books, are also described. The facts which are accumulated in the book are, of course, not so interesting, nor perhaps so important, as the general principles deduced from them and the general interpretations put upon them. It is the last portion of each chapter that chiefly engages our attention, and, we must add, excites our criticism. We think that the attempt to find, in pagan beliefs, a 'preparation' for a corresponding Christian doctrine is somewhat overdone. The word preparation is indeed ambiguous; it may describe continuity of development or mere foreshadowing. And, assuming it only to be applicable in the latter sense, which will probably be granted, we are inclined to think that most of the pagan analogies adduced are mere coincidences, and often coincidences of a very superficial kind.

In some respects, too, we think that the work shows a tendency to adhere to views which are no longer tenable. We should have thought that the theory of a primitive revelation to unfallen man had been slain by Réville, not to mention other writers, and that the sanest modern Biblical criticism and archæology had given it burial. The author, however, is deeply committed to it. There are passages also in which he shows himself not wholly abreast of recent knowledge. It is unpardonable now to quote Boscauwen's fragment as evidence of the existence of a Babylonian fall story; it has long been universally agreed that his translation was at fault. Lastly, the unfortunate sentence (p. 48): 'Science . . . confirms it by its theories of degeneration, of the tendency in all things to fall away from perfection,' reveals a thorough misunderstanding of the theory referred to, and, by implication, of that of evolution also.

Translation of the Chapter on Hadith and the New Testament from 'Muhammadanische Studien.' Vol. II. By Professor GOLDZIHNER, of Budapest. By F. M. Y. (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1902.)

A CLOSER investigation is now being given to the Parsee and the Christian elements in Islam. This excellent little book deals with the definite borrowings made from Christianity by Islam as distinct from the vaguer primitive plagiarisms. It well repays study. Among the borrowings cited by Professor Goldziher we may notice the extraordinary tradition which attributes to Muhammad a mutilated form of the Lord's Prayer. He also calls attention to fictitious miracles consciously intended to surpass the miracles of our Lord,

and to the use of the word *Shahid* in the sense of martyr, a significance plainly derived from the Christians. Valuable quotations illustrate the antagonism of Islam towards the monastic and ascetic elements in Oriental Christianity.

Lux Christi, an Outline Study of India, a Twilight Land. By CAROLINE ATWATER MASON. Price, 2s. net. (New York: Macmillan Co. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1902.)

MISS MASON'S book is the second of a series of manuals, issued under the auspices of the Central Committee on the United Study of Missions; the first of which we noticed in October, 1902. It is a model of what such a manual should be—systematic, well proportioned, highly suggestive, and, above all, readable. Each chapter is followed by an admirable selection of illustrative quotations, a set of themes for study or discussion, and a list of books of reference. As an introduction to the Study of Indian Missions, leading on to wider and deeper reading on the subject, it is all that could be desired. And it is not only free from the dryness of a manual, but it is written in a style which rises to genuine fervour and never degenerates into sentiment. In fact, we find but one fault with Miss Mason's excellent little book. Hindus are better than their creed in many and important respects, and Miss Mason's picture of the country is far too dark and unrelieved. No Christian who knew it for himself could ever have pictured it as she does.

III. DEVOTIONAL AND PRACTICAL THEOLOGY.

The Life of the Master. By JOHN WATSON, D.D. Price, 6s. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

THAT these sketches of the incidents of our Lord's life are by Dr. Watson secures that they are vivid and picturesque, full of delicate touches, and marked by moral earnestness and spiritual insight and emotion. They will supply very profitable devotional reading and materials of mental prayer for those who will remember that any account of our Lord's life which dwells almost entirely on its human aspects needs to be supplemented, and that, in particular, there are certain deficiencies in Dr. Watson's book.

We understand it has been thought by some that this *Life of the Master* might have been written by a disbeliever in the Deity of Christ. Consequently, we have observed with special interest certain passages which appear to us to denote belief that our Lord is truly God. The phrases 'hidden Divinity' and 'Divine Sonship' are perhaps ambiguous in view of the way in which the words 'Divinity'

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and 'Divine' are sometimes used. But the sentences, 'When Jesus says "I" the word compasses the poles of Divinity and humanity,' 'This is an eternal Person,' 'Who is speaking,' and 'The "I" of Jesus means sometimes Very God of Very God, and sometimes Very Man of Very Man, and yet there is but one Person Who is not embarrassed by opposite experiences, not inconsistent with Himself—Who is ever Jesus,' seem intended to express the doctrine of His Godhead.

Yet we do not think Dr. Watson has been sufficiently alive to the truth which Dr. Mozley expressed when he said, 'He Who was both God and Man cannot be thought of even as Man exactly the same as if He were not God.'¹ If he had been more mindful of this fact, he might have left unwritten some statements about the consciousness of our Lord; his description that in the incident of the Syro-Phoenician woman 'there was left no power of resistance in Jesus,' 'He was overcome and helpless, convicted out of His own mouth, and forced to surrender'; and his contention in relation to the Temptation that our Lord was peccable. That he misunderstands the Catholic teaching on the last subject when he regards 'because He would not' and 'because He could not' as statements opposed to one another might easily be seen by a well-known passage in the writings of St. Augustine,² or an article on 'Our Lord's Human Example' which appeared in our pages twenty years ago,³ or the discussion of the impeccability of Christ in Mr. Stone's *Outlines of Christian Dogma*.⁴ In all those places, as often elsewhere, stress is laid on the action of our Lord's will in resisting temptation as wholly consistent with the fact that being personally God He could not sin.

Meditations on the Epistle of St. James. By ETHEL ROMANES.
(London: Rivingtons, 1903.)

THE Epistle of St. James, once thought to be rudimentary in its Christian tone, is really—for shortness' sake, we speak dogmatically—a typical 'advanced' book of the believing life. If it is silent upon cardinal points of the *Credendum* this is because it takes them for granted. It is, in the language of a developed system, an ascetical treatise. It proposes to the reader, not the description of

¹ Mozley, *Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*, p. 93.

² St. Augustine, *Op. imperf. c. Julian*, iv. 48.

³ *Church Quarterly Review*, July 1883, pp. 289-294.

⁴ Stone, *Outlines of Christian Dogma*, pp. 77-81.

faith, but the method of advance in spiritual experience—the wisdom which is from above.

Mrs. Romanes has done well in presenting the book in its true light as a guide for meditation, for devotion. Here, as in earlier books, she puts in simple language the results of careful reading. She has used, with the success which belongs to charity, some of the best works of Christian scholarship, notably Bishop Westcott's *Christus Consummator*. She has studied, with real advantage for others, the sacred text of the Epistle and the Sermon on the Mount, of which it is so largely a practical, that is a devotional, exposition, closely united, with precepts requiring that discipline of conduct without which prayer must be false and empty.

We confidently recommend the use of this book.

The Gospel of Work. Four Lectures on Christian Ethics. By W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. Price, 2s. net. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1902.)

THE four lectures contained in this small volume were given to Extension students during the Cambridge Summer Meeting of 1902. To them are added three sermons preached before the Mayor and Corporation of Cambridge, to the Christian Social Union at Boston in America, and at Harvard University. Their main subject is that of the distinctive teaching and influence of Christianity as to common life and as to work in particular. They require and deserve careful study. They are throughout so valuable that it is difficult to select any part for special mention; but we may say that the sermon entitled 'Egoism in Political Life' is a brief but admirable exposition of the truth that 'the best and truest hope of delivering human society from the dangers that are besetting it increasingly' lies in the Christian duty of self-renunciation and in following the 'perfect model of human life set before us in the man Christ Jesus.'

A feature of the lectures is in the references to, and quotations from, Benjamin Whichcote and others of his school. Dr. Cunningham has a clear and strong appreciation of the merits and of the limitations of those great men.

Common Life Religion. Thirty Plain Sermons. By the Rev. H. J. WILMOT-BUXTON, M.A. (London: Skeffington, 1902.)

THE preacher tells us that his object is to offer, he does not say to whom, some plain words of counsel on the everyday duties of common life, not merely as a Sunday exercise, but a daily help amid the cares and occupations of this working-day world. That gives a

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faithful description of the style and matter of the sermons, plain, common-place, and good of their kind, such as hundreds of ordinary clergymen preach every Sunday of their lives. A set of sermons is provided for Advent and Lent, others for some festival and special seasons, and the rest for general use.

The Law of Growth, and other Sermons. By the Rt. Rev. PHILLIPS BROOKS. (London : Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

BISHOP PHILLIPS BROOKS'S preaching admirably illustrates a saying of his own, 'We all begin to die when we let go the chance to live our fullest life.' For the great characteristic of these fine sermons is an exuberant vitality. It is out of the fulness of a singularly rich and many-sided experience that the preacher brings forth 'things new and old.' The Bishop's style cannot, indeed, be more felicitously described than in words written by his friend Mr. James Bryce.

'Dr. Brooks was the best because the most edifying of preachers. . . . There was a wealth of fine observation, fine reflection, and insight both subtle and imaginative, all touched with a warmth and tenderness which seemed to transfuse and irradiate the thought itself. In this blending of perfect simplicity of treatment with singular fertility and elevation of thought, no other among the famous preachers of the generation that is now vanishing approached him.'¹

There is little that can be called distinctively doctrinal in the sermons ; but Christ is throughout the central figure, Christ regarded as the 'author and finisher' of human faith, as the living source of all greatness, strength, and beauty in human character. 'The ideal Church,' says the Bishop, 'is simply winged humanity—humanity with the pinions of faith all spread and moving on with one great total impulse to the realization of the divine life for man.' And what he deplors in the actual condition of the Church is the fact that Church life 'often seems to swamp and drown instead of bringing out lustrously the characters of those who live in it'; that 'the members of the Church seem often to have lost instead of gaining personal distinctness and the full power of their own life. And he insists that this failure to reach the full standard of human capacity is not due to circumstances.

'Not with circumstances but with spiritual conditions is the struggle that makes us men ; not with the things the tempter uses for his tools, but with the tempter ; not against flesh and blood, but against spiritual wickedness.'

¹ *Life of Phillips Brooks*, ii. 809.

So again, the preacher's conception of the possibilities of average human nature is characteristically optimistic.

'Let us beware,' he exclaims, 'of drawing hard and fast the line of our own limitations. Trust the impulsive leap of heart which tells you, when you read the life of Agassiz or of Livingstone, that you too might be a devotee of science or an enthusiastic missionary. Expect surprises out of the bosom of a life which God made, and which you whom He has set to live in it only half realize,—as a tenant who came but yesterday into a palace only half knows the mystery and richness of the great house where he has been sent to live.'

Altogether this volume of sermons is in the highest sense inspiring. It does not contain very much that would be called 'eloquent writing'; but in every page the reader recognizes the sure touch, the keen insight, the fresh simplicity of a nature which 'the truth has filled with strength.' We are inclined to select as specially typical of the great preacher's finest manner and maturest power the sermons on 'Rest,' on 'Sons of God,' and on the words 'Go into the city.'

After the Resurrection. By the Rev. ALEXANDER MACLAREN, D.D. Price, 5s. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902.)

THE pen of the veteran Baptist preacher of Manchester has not forgotten its cunning. His gift of exposition abides. The title applies only to the first eleven sermons. The following passages are noticeable: "All power *has been given*." When was it given? Let another portion of Scripture answer the question. "Declared to be the Son of God with power, by the resurrection of the dead." We have the elevation of manhood to enthronement with Divinity.'

'The world has not seen the last of Jesus Christ. Such an Ascension, after such a life, cannot be the end of Him. . . . One sweet face and one great fact—the face of Christ, the fact of the Cross—should fill the past. One sweet face, one great fact—the face of Christ, the fact of His presence with us all the days—should fill the present. One regal face, one great hope should fill the future.'

He does not spare his own congregation. 'We Nonconformists pride ourselves upon our freedom from what we call Sacerdotalism. Officialism is the dry-rot of all the Churches, and is found as rampant amongst democratic Nonconformists as amongst the more hierarchical communities' (p. 41).

The remainder of the volume contains two sermons on Queen Victoria, and some eloquent words of counsel to the young.

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Our Life in Paradise. By the Rev. E. A. DOWN. With an Introduction by the Right Hon. VISCOUNT HALIFAX. (London: Rivingtons, 1902.)

WE can recall the names of several recently published books which deal with some aspects of the subject discussed in this little volume. Mr. Down explains that the book consists of a series of Lenten addresses, which he hopes may prove helpful to 'a larger circle of Church people' than the original hearers. He has taken pains carefully to revise his work, and the book as it stands is commendably free from inaccuracies. We are specially glad to note that Mr. Down loses no opportunity of pointing out the moral bearings of the mysterious truths with which he deals. Thus in speaking of 'the cleansing fires' he observes that the thought of them 'serves as a stimulus to *effort* in this life by reminding us that the cultivation of character is by far the most important object on which we can concentrate our attention during our earthly probation.' Mr. Down, moreover, has evidently thought, as well as read, in connexion with his subject. We like his mode of dealing with the question of the future destiny of the 'heathen masses' both at home and abroad. He also fully recognizes the crudity and exaggeration of popular Roman doctrine in regard to the condition of the departed. Altogether he has produced a useful and carefully written book.¹

Our criticism, however, is twofold. In the first place we think that Mr. Down overrates the importance of the evidence that may be adduced for the *popular practice* of 'Invocation.' He does not seriously grapple with the question whether the departed saints hear the petitions addressed to them by the living. It has been often pointed out, with something more than justice, that to base a devotional practice on a fact entirely uncertain in itself is not only precarious but an unwarrantable waste of spiritual force. Nor do we understand what Mr. Down means when he implies that the Invocation of Saints stands on a level with 'asking our friends on earth to remember us in the same way.' It is strictly reasonable to say, 'The time spent [in asking for the prayers of saints] would be better employed in addressing our prayers to God'; and at the same time it is equally reasonable to ask *living* friends to fulfil the duty of intercession, so constantly enjoined in the New Testament.

In the second place we do not think Mr. Down has strengthened his book by inviting Lord Halifax to write an introduction, the tone

¹ An inaccuracy, for which Lord Halifax is, we presume, responsible, occurs in the introduction. The late Mr. W. E. Forster is twice described as 'Foster.'

of which strikes us as thoroughly un-English and over-strained. We are not thinking merely of expressions obviously foreign in their associations, such as 'the Queen and the Denizens of the Court of heaven,' 'satisfy for me that I may at length, purged from my sins and their consequences, be made capable of entering into the Promised Land.' Nor have we a right to object to Lord Halifax's request to readers of this book 'that his name and needs may sometimes be mentioned to those Glorified Friends of God—the saints.' What strikes us chiefly is the curious lack of a true sense of proportion which underlies such a sentence as the following: 'It is because we in England have so largely forgotten these things, because by ignoring the worship due to the Saints we have ended by forgetting the Saints altogether, that we have, as a nation, grown so insensible to the invisible realities of the kingdom of God.' Lord Halifax proceeds to characterize with just severity 'the follies of occultism, of spirit-rapping, of necromancy,' but we think he entirely fails to apprehend the true causes which have fostered the growth of modern materialism in England and elsewhere.

Priestly Blemishes ; or, Some Secret Hindrances to the Realization of Priestly Ideals. A Sequel. Being a Second Course of Practical Lectures delivered in St. Paul's Cathedral to 'Our Society' and other Clergy in Lent, 1902. By the Rev. W. C. E. NEWBOLT, M.A., Canon and Chancellor of St. Paul's Cathedral. Price, 3s. 6d. (London, New York, and Bombay : Longmans, 1902.)

IN this series of five lectures on vanity, sloth, despondency, impatience, and self-neglect, Canon Newbolt gives, after his wont, much excellent advice expressed with vigour, and in an interesting, if somewhat rhetorical, way. A high standard of life and work is set up ; faults are relentlessly pointed out ; means of improvement are suggested. The book is full of careful handling of matters of detail ; but what has chiefly impressed us in it is the evident belief of the author that very many of the clergy whom he knows best are lacking in the thoroughness and robustness and vitality and genuine unselfishness and self-denial which characterized the Tractarians in general. If this estimate is true, it is indeed a matter which calls for much searching of heart.

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The Mountain Mother. Glenalmond Sermons. By the Rev. J. H. SKRINE, Warden of Glenalmond. Price, 3s. 6d. (London: Skeffington, 1902.)

THE title is taken from a line in one of the school hymns, 'and afar the Mountain Mother's shadow falls.' Our readers who remember that a volume of 'sermons preached at Trinity College, Glenalmond,' was edited by the Bishop of St. Andrews in 1854 will not need to be told that the Theological College of Scottish Episcopacy, with Bishop Jolly's library and other accessories, has been removed from Glenalmond to Edinburgh, from the shadow of the Mountain Mother to the shade of fair St. Mary's. And what we have here is a collection of sermons preached to schoolboys on topics admirably chosen to excite their interest. Among these topics are the tongue, temper, cowardice, friendships, bullying, and letters home, as well as more doctrinal subjects. The whole forms a worthy memorial of Mr. Skrine's good work at Glenalmond. But we must say of these sermons what we should say of those of many head masters, that more teaching is needed about the nature of grace and the way to get it, and about the constitution and notes of the Church of Christ, and generally much more clear teaching in an instructive rather than a hortatory vein.

Pastor Agnorum: a Schoolmaster's Afterthought. By J. H. SKRINE, Warden of Glenalmond. Price, 5s. net. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, 1902.)

THE late Warden of Glenalmond is at his best in chapters vi., 'The Man,' xv., 'The Art of Worship,' and xi.-xiii., where the various kinds of boys are ably described. Part if not all of the last three chapters has already appeared in the *Guardian*. The book contains many thoughtful passages: for examples we select p. 61, on the cant 'which the system of truth and trust' in public schools, 'like every other system, has'; or pp. 85-6, where Christ is held up as 'the Exemplar of self-assertion.' There is also a touch of humour from time to time, as in the description of under-masters in chapter ix., and in such a remark as this (p. 54) on the supposed advantage of a lay schoolmaster: 'No doubt there is a force in a laic utterance: but it is the force of surprise. When in old Rome a bull spoke in the Forum, he gained attention; not however by wisdom or sincerity, but because for a bull to speak was unnatural.' The author aims at training character rather than intelligence, an aspect of education which, since Arnold's time, has been well to the front, but may perhaps soon become less prominent, if we all come to agree with Professor Dewar 'that it will take us two generations

of hard and intelligently directed educational work to attain the German standard of general training.' The faults of the author are that, being a poet, he is often obscure in expression and logic, and the affectation of his style, which will offend many.

The King's Fountain, and other Sermons. By the Rev. J. P. FALLOWES, M.A. (London: Skeffington, 1902.)

THE title of this collection of general sermons is chosen from, and the first three sermons based upon, a remarkable discourse of Dr. Donne on the tears of our Lord. In nine other sermons Mr. Fallowes continues to preach upon the image of the fountain from various texts, such as the fountain in the desert, the fountain of contrition, and other topics. Some sermons for occasional use are added to these, and the result is a readable volume.

The Letters of S. Teresa, translated from the Spanish by the Rev. JOHN DALTON. (Thomas Baker, Soho Square.)

THIS translation is a selection taken apparently rather at random from the four hundred letters written by St. Teresa. Perhaps it was difficult to select from a correspondence which embraced so wide a range as hers did, and these selections are intended as samples of the various spheres, temporal as well as spiritual, which acknowledged its influence. If so, we can only hope that the industrious translator will produce some more treasures from so rich a mine, rather avoiding the letters which deal, in however statesmanlike a manner, with disturbances long past and over, connected with the affairs of the State, or the internal differences of the religious houses. In this matter St. Teresa herself is a guide, as she writes thus: 'The less attention I give to business, the more advanced do I find myself in my interior life' (p. 22). In another place she states that 'the soul is a castle of sovereign power' (p. 10), and a translation of her famous treatise, *The Interior Castle*, would indeed be welcome. But we hope when producing it that the translator will not use the feminine pronoun when writing of the soul, which sounds oddly to English ears, that he will avoid a certain stiffness of style which detracts from the charm of the translation, and that he will reserve, as in the original, the capital letters of 'His Majesty' for the King of Kings.

Leisurable Studies. By the Rev. T. H. PASSMORE, M.A., author of *The Things beyond the Tomb*, &c. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, 1901.)

THE writer in his 'foreword' tells us that the following heterogeneous matter is culled from a heap of lucubrations which have at various

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times and in divers measures lightened the gravity and solemnised the secularity of the *Church Review*. The reader will find himself conveyed from grave to gay *per saltum* and back again. 'For this Protean mobility of theme' the author offers no apology, 'because its principle is in perfect accordance with the tenor of the most serious life of modern time' (p. 7). No doubt there may be developments of character in 'the religious world,' mannerisms in preaching or reading, details of ceremonial and the like which call for some satire, but in all that borders on the worship of Almighty God such satire needs most careful handling, if reverence is to be preserved. In writing of the 'Religious woman,' Mr. Passmore suggests that St. Paul's 'thorn in the flesh' may have been 'a veiled allusion to some mature ungathered Rose who interested herself in Damaris. We have the Apostle's own testimony, given with an emphasis which suggests experience, to the existence of the ecclesiastical Mrs. Grundy in his day. She went by the name of *Periergos*' (p. 4). In a matter so sacred as auricular confession and absolution any triviality is utterly out of place, and yet we are told that the 'R. W.' 'decorates' in her legions, at the particular times when the clerical staff, according to the notice-board, are discharging the ministry of reconciliation in Church before a festival' (p. 13). There is much that is useful in the papers on preaching, but there is no wit in heading them 'preachments.' We are glad also to observe that stress is laid on good reading, although the reason given for reading the Epistle and Gospel 'facing the altar,' 'because they are primarily to be regarded as sacrificial acts, wherein, before ever we think of our own instruction or profit, "we give thanks to Him for His great glory"' (p. 110) is novel to us. The counsels, however, given under the heading of 'The Lectern' are excellent, and, not least, the advice to the older clergy to 'take on themselves the honourable duty of reading, with humble care and diligent devotion, Moses and the Prophets and the ever-glorious Gospel' (p. 88). There is much also that is thoughtful and eloquent in the papers on 'the functions of ceremonial and on *Homo Creator*. Despite the defects to which allusion has been made, the book is one of real interest, and contains within it the promise, if the humour is kept within limits, of yet more excellent work.

Occasional Papers. By the late Rev. G. S. REANEY. (London: S.P.C.K., 1902.)

THIS small volume of twenty-one short articles has a special interest from the fact that their author, after having been a Baptist

and a Congregationalist, a Liberationist and a Radical, sought Orders in the Church of England in 1890, attracted 'by her parochial system, her nationality, her Catholicity, her historic continuity, and by her primitive and Scriptural teaching and practice.' He died in 1901, and for the last eight years of his life was vicar of Christ Church, Greenwich. One always feels, as Archdeacon Sinclair in his Introduction says, 'the keenest sympathy for Nonconformist ministers who take Orders in the Church of England. They give up so much.'

These papers are pungent, racy, humorous, especially the opening one, entitled 'To Love God and Laugh,' and full of insight into London life in the East End. Its wants as well as its attractions are well set forth. The Sunday question, Sunday schools, education, 'more house room, more fresh and free water, more play places,' are discussed in a suggestive and sensible spirit.

The Quest of Happiness. By NEWELL DWIGHT HILLIS.
(New York : Macmillan Co., 1902.)

THIS is not the kind of book that appeals to an English reader. It is crammed with commonplace knowledge ; anecdotes and allusions of every kind abound, but the style is almost intolerably rhetorical. The following passage is a good sample of the book :

'Guided by God man entered the wilderness, clothed as a wonder-worker. He touched the bitter apple and it became the wine sap and the golden pippin. He touched the sour grape and it became the Catawba. He touched the forked stick and it became a steel plough. He touched the rude sickle and it became a reaper. He touched the old wagon into an iron engine ; the hollow log into a steel ship ; the iron thread into an ocean cable. He touched the new cotton and it became calico ; the cocoon and lo ! its fleece became a silken garment. He touched the sea-shell with rude strings across its mouth, and it became an organ or piano. He touched the rude type into great printing-presses, and rude ochres into colour and canvas. . . . Where once rose the smoke of the tepees and the sound of the medicine man beating his drum, there rose instead the noise of industry, the halls of science, the temples of religion. Vices became virtues ; slaves became citizens ; peasants became scholars, patriots, and Christians. For man is the child of progress, because he is the child of God. If his foot rests upon the clod, his forehead grazes the stars.'

The following passage is a marvel of imaginative exegesis :

'In theology, some conservatives still believe in woman's inferiority. They love to remind us that Paul said that "women must keep silence in the churches." At the time Paul wrote those words he was preaching in a little village of Asia Minor, from whence come our Armenians. . . .

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In talking in one of those little Armenian synagogues, the women did not understand and whispered so loudly that he lost the thread of his thought. So he told them to keep silence in the churches until they were educated like the Jewish women, Miriam, and Mary with her hymn of song and praise. Later, these theologians elevated Paul's little episode into the dignity of a theological system.'

We do not know whether the book will be popular among the compatriots of Mr. Hillis ; but English readers will, if we mistake not, be equally repelled by the somewhat fantastic and tasteless form of the book, and by 500 pages of rhetoric *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*.

IV. CHURCH HISTORY AND CONTROVERSY.

A History of the Church of Christ. By HERBERT KELLY (Director of the Society of the Sacred Mission). Vol. II. (London : Longmans, 1902.)

THIS volume of Church history is thoughtful, interesting, and accurate. It comprises the vital and difficult period between 324 and 430 A.D., and deals with the absorbing questions of that period with thorough good sense not unmixed with shrewdness. We think that Father Kelly has never failed to see the real religious and historical significance of the persons and movements that he describes, and no one can fairly say that his book is warped by theological prepossessions. The account of Arianism and of Athanasius is very good. But we should prefer not to see Constantine's letter accused of an 'ostentation of impartiality,' in spite of our feeling that it is very like one of the articles on Church questions in a leading daily newspaper. The history of Arianism after the Council of Nicaea is well traced, though we think that Father Kelly, who shows that he is acquainted with Harnack, should have dealt with the assertion that the Council of Constantinople only accepted the word *homo-ousios* in a semi-Arian sense. The history of the Roman see, though too compressed, is effectively presented.

The second part of the volume, though it is supposed to deal with the history of the Church to A.D. 430, is rather strangely called 'The Close of the Fourth Century.' Moreover this part of the book cannot strictly be called a Church history, because it consists almost entirely of the lives of St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Chrysostom. And while the whole volume contains only 329 pages, exclusive of notes and index, nearly 100 are devoted to St. Augustine. We sympathize strongly with the author's motive. He is right in saying that the present neglect of that great saint is 'a

sign,' and in hinting that it is not a healthy sign. But the space which he allots to St. Augustine is disproportionate, and the treatment is not sufficiently simple for the class of readers to whom the history is addressed. Too little is said about St. Ambrose. And for the same reason, after reading a compressed and rather sarcastic account of St. Jerome, we are surprised to find at the end words about his 'inspiration' and 'heroic steadfastness' for which the author has by no means prepared us.

Good as some of the sentences are, there are also some which are extraordinarily clumsy. We have noted several, but confine ourselves to the mention of that describing the visit of Epiphanius to Jerome on p. 208.

Student's History of the Greek Church. By the Rev. A. H. HORE, M.A. Price, 7s. 6d. (London: James Parker and Co., 1902.)

THE cordial welcome given to Mr. Hore's *Eighteen Centuries of the Orthodox Greek Church* would be sufficient to ensure a similar reception for the present volume. It is handy, clearly printed, and packed with information, the record really including the story of the conversion of Central Europe as well as that of the Church in the countries bordering on the Levant.

Three chapters in particular will be found useful by those who want a short and lucid account of matters about which it has not been easy to guide inquirers for information. These are the introduction, dealing with 'Some Characteristics of the Greek Church,' chapter vi., on 'The Non-Orthodox Greek Churches,' and the conclusion, dealing with 'The Reunion of Christendom.'

We question, however, such statements as, 'The differential title of the Greek Church is *Orthodox*, of the Roman *Catholic*, of the Anglican . . . *Anglo-Catholic*' (p. 2); nor can we altogether sympathize with the writer in saying, 'My object is chiefly political' (p. iii), and in his reliance (p. ix) on Mme. Novikoff. We cannot forget the clever description given by that lady, in a letter published in Mr. Tuckwell's *Life* by A. W. Kinglake, of her management of the Eastern Question. She is answering an inquiry as to how she got hold of Mr. Gladstone, and replies:

'*Rien de plus simple!* Four or five years ago I asked what was his weak point, and was told that he had two, "effervescence" and "theology." With that knowledge I found it all child's play to manage him. I just sent him to Munich and there boiled him up in a weak decoction of "Filioque," then kept him ready for use, and impatiently awaited the moment when our plans for getting up the Bulgarian "atrocities" should be mature.'

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Was Dr. Pusey wrong in distrusting (p. 485) the Bonn Conference, if Mme. Novikoff thus regarded it?

'During the *first forty days of September*' (p. 13) seems to be a slip; Gibbon is quoted *passim* by volume and page without mention of the edition; the English Bishopric at Jerusalem was not revived (p. 487) till 1887; and it will startle many readers of this *Review* to find that it is proposed to have in the Anglican Church of St. George at Jerusalem 'stalls for twelve *residentiary* canons, *four of whom are to be bishops*' (p. 489).

Peplographia Dublinensis. Memorial Discourses preached in the Chapel of Trinity College, Dublin, 1895-1902. (London: Macmillan and Co., 1902.)

THIS volume is not, as the hasty reader of the title might suppose, a treatise on the embroidery of robes as practised in Dublin, but a series of interesting sermons which have formed part of the observance of Trinity Monday in the University of that city. Trinity Monday has from time immemorial been a day of joy to some and desolation to others in that seat of learning; for then the names of the successful candidates for fellowships and university scholarships have been declared. Under the present genial Provost the observances of the day have been enlarged. A banquet takes place in the college dining hall, to which all the scholars for each decade of years, counting back from the current date, are invited; a rare occasion for the meeting of old friends and for displaying the contrasts of human life. In 1901, for instance, there were still living four of the scholars of 1841, presenting, in the photographs by which the meetings are recorded, as great a difference from the fresh faces of 1901 as the work of the life at its close does from that of the life still to come. The sermons here printed were delivered at evensong on the Trinity Monday of each year, the subject being in each case furnished by the life of some well-known student of the place in days gone by. We scarcely know whether to note it as a mark of the wide appeal which these names present to all English-speaking readers, or as a sad proof of the decline of the book trade of Ireland, that a volume of origin so local should be published in London.

The first discourse is upon Archbishop Ussher by the Bishop of Edinburgh. It would be hard to conceive the theme better used in its limited space as an example to scholars. The preacher is plainly well acquainted with every department of the great scholar's work, which he rightly notes as everywhere historical in its character. Among the suggestions which he makes to students of the present day in following out the lines of Ussher's thought we

find 'the history of belief as regards the Eucharist,' a subject which, as the reader is aware, has been treated in several successive articles of the *Church Quarterly Review*. Bishop Dowden is unable to say much for Ussher's efficiency as a bishop except in the matter of preaching. Perhaps Strafford, with his 'thorough' methods of dealing, did, better than any ecclesiastic could have done it, the work which at the time was most required, namely that of bringing to their knees the greedy courtiers who preyed upon the Church. At all events, the contrast is great between Ussher's case and those of our own day, when a great scholar on becoming a bishop is wellnigh lost to the world of learning.

If the sermon upon Ussher is well fitted to be a guide for scholars, that upon the life of Bishop Thomas Wilson is equally adapted to be a text-book of holy living. The episcopate of that saintly man was not passed in Ireland, but in the still greater seclusion of the Isle of Man. But Dr. Gwynn in his beautiful discourse well proves the justice of the claim which Trinity College, Dublin, asserts to a share in his spiritual development. 'Here he received his university education and degrees; here the resolve to dedicate himself to the work of the ministry of the Church was formed, or at least fostered into fulfilment; here he was brought into contact with the friend whose Christian example and leading were the decisive force at the critical moment of his life and an abiding power throughout its course.'

To the Dean of St. Patrick's has been assigned the most interesting subject of the whole course. What university indeed, whether in England, Scotland, or the Continent, can furnish a name more suggestive than that of George Berkeley to a preacher or a congregation that can be interested by piety, intellect, or romance? Berkeley was a friend of Swift, and captivated that sarcastic and disappointed genius as he captivated the rest of the politicians and literary men of the time. And the successor of Swift has had a rare opportunity of pronouncing the *éloge* of Swift's friend, an opportunity which no one was better fitted to use.

Professor Mahaffy's sermon upon Bishop Stearne is, to be sure, an example of literary skill. However, it is exercised not in praising excellently well one whom all are agreed to praise, but in uplifting to the remembrance and recognition of the present century a respectable prelate of the eighteenth. But we can hardly commend the Professor's justice in describing Philip Skelton as an unruly and perhaps disorderly pamphleteer. Samuel Taylor Coleridge considered Skelton's work as worthy of his own com-

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ments,¹ and Skelton's Life by Brady was not unjustly described by a late writer in *Blackwood* as an Irish Boswell. Skelton's books, though little read at present, were more important in their time than anything which Bishop Stearne ever produced.

The life of Archbishop King furnished Professor Lawlor with an excellent subject, which was familiar to him, since he had already edited a volume of the lectures of his predecessor in the Dublin Chair of Ecclesiastical History, which contains an account of the career of Archbishop King, the fullest yet published. A stirring career it certainly was, both in its secular and ecclesiastical aspects, and brought King into contact, often sufficiently rude, with all sorts of antagonists, from King James II. to the Irish Society (as proprietors in Derry) and the chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral. We have formerly dealt with the work of Professor Stokes as edited by his successor (see *Church Quarterly Review*, li. 503 sqq.). The present sermon is an excellent *résumé* of the life, with practical applications.

The Bishop of Derry's admirable study of Edmund Burke—evidently the fruit of long and critical acquaintance—Canon Sherlock's of Henry Grattan, and that of Mr. Roberts of Lord Falkland, are interesting essays in various fields of history, English politics and Irish in the eighteenth century, and the great Civil War of the seventeenth. But we must conclude by recommending the volume as the realization of a very happy idea. It proves how many various records of human life and thought the history of a university can bring before us, for example and for education, and how excellently well a series of biographies may hang upon the chain of the university training which connects the lives of all. The editor truly remarks in his preface that further subjects, and not less worthy, may be furnished by the past history of Trinity College, for Swift and Goldsmith are still to be dealt with. And we may well hope that Trinity College, Dublin, will not be less fertile of worthy lives in the future than she has been in the past.

Two Centuries of Christian Activity at Yale. Edited by J. B. REYNOLDS, S. H. FISHER, and H. B. WRIGHT. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.)

ONE would like to say nothing but what is favourable about this book; for its purport is to show how deep and active an interest has been taken at Yale in religious work; and this is just what we want the resident members of our own Universities, whether graduate or

¹ See Coleridge's *Notes on English Divines*, ii. 211 sq.

undergraduate, to do. But we are bound to say that it is disappointing. In the first place one would expect that an academical book would be unimpeachable in the matter of style and language; but what are we to say of such sentences as the following? 'No wonder they felt themselves competent to pass upon the theological views expounded by the pulpit' (p. 9). 'He had studied *into* the matter thoroughly' (p. 31). He 'resigned *from* the presidency' (p. 42). Again, the 'Christian activity' was aroused and kept up by a succession of revivals, beginning with that of Whitefield, who is introduced with the startling remark that he was 'committed to no creed' (p. 18). Why, was he not a priest of the Church of England, and therefore committed to a very definite Creed? But the absence of any definite creed, beyond the vaguest acceptance of Christianity, is all through the book regarded as a virtue; and as we do not believe in this undenominational teaching, nor yet in revivalism, which means unwholesome excitement, among our students, we cannot recommend Yale as a model.

Harvard Historical Studies. Volume IX. 'The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies.' By A. L. CROSS, Ph.D. (London: Longmans, 1902.)

THIS is a carefully written and valuable monograph on the relation of the Anglican episcopate to the Church in the American colonies from its beginning to the establishment of a native American episcopate, embellished with notes, references, and appendices. One aspect of the subject has to do with the origin, nature, and actual workings of the Bishop of London's authority as colonial diocesan. Dr. Cross's own brief summary of his treatment of the evidence puts the contents of the early chapters of his book before us in a concise way.

'Originating, probably, with a step instigated by Laud in the rounding-out of the Stuart-Laudian policy of uniting Church and state, the Bishop of London's colonial authority, in America at least, faded into oblivion during the Commonwealth and the Protectorate. Reviving again with the Restoration under the energetic administration of Henry Compton, it obtained a direct legal recognition during the lifetime of Bishop Gibson, under whom it reached its highest development. Receiving a blow from Bishop Sherlock from which it never recovered, it nevertheless did not become completely extinct until the close of the revolution.'

The bulk of the text of Dr. Cross's book is, however, devoted to that aspect of his subject which is concerned with attempts to introduce a resident episcopate into the colonies and to transfer the

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Bishop of London's powers to it. On this point Dr. Cross may again be allowed to describe the course of his work in his own summary.

'Almost from the time when the authority of the Bishop of London was extended to include the plantations, efforts were made to introduce a native episcopate to take over his American jurisdiction. This plan was pushed with more or less constancy from its inception in the days of Laud to the outbreak of the War of Independence. At first it was a matter of purely spiritual concern, but with the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century it became almost inextricably involved in the political history of the period.'

It is not easy to determine the exact measure of influence which this religious question and the political affairs of the day mutually exercised upon each other. On Dr. Cross's view of the evidence the strained relations which heralded the approach of the War of Independence strengthened the opposition to episcopacy, rather than that religious differences were a prime moving cause of political alienation. The materials of the appendices constitute a very valuable part of Dr. Cross's work. In them will be found, in the first place, fourteen illustrative documents, the majority of which are transcripts from the Fulham Library (placed at Dr. Cross's service by Bishop Creighton), the British Museum, and the Public Record Office. In the next place is given a convenient list, verified by a comparison with Bishop Stubbs's lists in his *Registrum Anglicanum*, of the Archbishops of Canterbury and Bishops of London during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. To this succeeds a list of special works, which includes all books, manuscripts, pamphlets, newspapers, periodicals, broadsides, official records, and other collections of material which contain important information regarding the relations between the Anglican Episcopate and the American colonies. Finally, there is a good index. Even such a brief account of the contents as we have given will be sufficient to show that the student alike of the religious and political history of the United States will find valuable aid in the materials which Dr. Cross has collected. It is impossible to avoid the sensation of regret that some things did not turn out differently at critical points of the history. English Churchmen must always regret that Seabury failed to accomplish his object in England, and so had to turn at last to the non-juring bishops in Scotland for ordination. We are not specially concerned here with the vain political regret that the English Government did not treat its American colonies more wisely. But we find ample cause for regret in the refusal of the

Methodists to join in the organization of the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States, and in the unhappy steps by which the foundation was laid of the structure now known as the American Methodist Episcopal Church. But, in spite of many regrets, there is one great cause for thankfulness which dominates all else. Amid all the difficulties of this tangled story the ultimate triumph of episcopacy was never in doubt, and when in this highly instructive volume the members of the American episcopate trace the vicissitudes of their early history, and then look out upon the rich prospect of their Church life to-day, they will not fail to see in what has been wrought the Hand of the Divine Head of the Church, who has appointed episcopacy as the essential and not merely the expedient mode of government in His Church. He—and this is the inspiring lesson of the history—can be trusted to preserve what He has appointed.

Historical Essays and Reviews. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D.D., D.C.L., LL.D., &c., some time Bishop of London. Edited by LOUISE CREIGHTON. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, 1902.)

THE extremely interesting collection of papers in this volume illustrates different sides of Dr. Creighton's many and varied activities. He spent some fertile years of study in a quiet country parish, when he was able occasionally to enjoy some weeks of foreign travel, and this period of his life is represented by two essays on Dante, two on Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini (Pope Pius II.), one on Vittorino da Feltre, a schoolmaster of the Renaissance, one on Gismondo Malatesta of Rimini, and one on Olympia Fulvia Morata, a learned lady of Ferrara. The two essays on Dante, which will charm the deeper students of the poet as well as the general reader, describe the way in which the outward circumstances of Dante's life affected his inner development, till sorrow wrought out, in the long years of dreary exile, the aspirations which in boyish days love's touch had first revealed; and then trace in the poet's writings his own record of his inner life, the workings of his mind, and the meaning of his pursuits. The reader will find enough in these two essays to enable him to recognize that Dante summed up in himself all the life of his time, with all its problems and all its thought. Pope Pius II. was undoubtedly the most characteristic personage in the history of the Papacy during the Renaissance period, and he exhibits the simple mental freshness and overpowering thirst for knowledge which is the chief mark of the scholars of the age in a most forcible combination of literature and politics. The two essays not only give a clear

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portrait of the man but contain a delicate and subtle description of the very remarkable time in which he lived. Another striking personality, and an increased knowledge of the great workings of the Renaissance, are found in the essay on Vittorino da Feltre, 'a true saint of the Renaissance, who combined all the breadth and fulness of the new culture with all the zeal of the old faith.' The art of the early Renaissance is illustrated in the essay on Gismondo Malatesta by a description of the wonderful church in honour of St. Francis which Gismondo built in Rimini; while the intellectual movement is vividly presented to our minds by the letters of Olympia Morata, full as they are of devotion to the cause of truth and intellectual freedom. We hasten to add that Dr. Creighton's residence in the north country led him to write a paper on the Northumbria border, which will delight all lovers of Bede, and which traces the historical steps in the formation of the English border, the causes which gave the modern county of Northumberland a separate existence and a complete character, and the story told in the various interesting remains of antiquity which cover the land. It is curious that the subject of one of the essays already noticed—namely, Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini—made a journey through Northumberland in 1435, and furnishes Dr. Creighton with a lively description of the region at that time, including the peel towers or refuges against pillaging bands. Not since we last read *Hereward the Wake* have we so much enjoyed the romance of history which surrounds the fens and marshes of Eastern England as in the paper on the Fenland. A sketch of the main features of the fens includes extracts from Hugh the White, from Drayton and Defoe; and when Dr. Creighton passes from the features to the history of the region, to the names of Etheldreda and Guthlac and the monastic civilizers of these wild spots, he is led to call attention to the mighty buildings of the Fenland and its borders, and to let his genius play upon the question why a spot like Cambridge was chosen as a site for a University. We are glad to think that our own *Review* has had such a share in promoting the variety of the volume as is represented by the permission—given with great pleasure, it is unnecessary to say—to reprint from our pages the characteristic article on John Wiclif, who wanders as 'a spectral form in the region of antiquarianism and archæology,' and will so wander until we know more of scholastic theology, of the details of contemporary history, and of Wiclif's own works.

Another paper, on the Italian Bishops of Worcester, is at once a memorial of Dr. Creighton's interest in that diocese, in the mother church of which he was some time a canon, and an example of literary industry, and of a statesman's grasp of royal and papal

relations to the pre-Reformation Church of England. The admirable letter on the 250th anniversary of the foundation of Harvard University was written by request of the *Times*, immediately after the function in which as the representative of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, Dr. Creighton took an important part. In the still greater episode of the Imperial Coronation at Moscow the Bishop, seeing, as few Englishmen could have surpassed him in seeing, the inward significance of the pageant, was able to describe what he saw as one who tried to lend himself to the meaning of a great national ceremony unique of its kind. We can only refer briefly to the reviews which complete this richly varied collection of Dr. Creighton's literary pieces, to his notice of the two final volumes of Mr. Symonds's work on the Italian Renaissance, to the survey of *Il Principe* and the life and times of Machiavelli, so full of importance as they are to the scientific historian, to the praise bestowed upon Count Pasolini's life of Caterina Sforza, and to the fine analysis of the policy of Cromwell, as suggested by Mr. Gairdner's arrangement of the letters and papers of the reign of Henry VIII.

Church Folk Lore. A Record of some post-Reformation usages in the English Church now mostly obsolete. By the Rev. J. E. VAUX, M.A. Second edition, greatly enlarged. (London: Skeffington, 1902.)

IN these miscellaneous illustrations of peculiar local customs, now much increased in number and obviously capable of innumerable additions, Mr. Vaux addresses the general public and not the scientific antiquary. He owes much to private contributors, and with their aid he has gathered together an interesting mass of old-world usages connected with the services, the fabric, and the seasons of the Church, music, the clergy, holy wells, heathen customs, and various other matters. In an appendix are printed a list of public Church services in London in the time of Queen Anne, and a collection of odd Christian names. We are sorry that we cannot give illustrations, but we may add Almus to the odd list of baptismal names, chosen by a father as being the masculine form of Alma for a boy born on the day of the battle of the Alma, and we may mention that Bishop Stubbs once said that a clergyman is bound to give a child any name required by the parents 'if it be not lewd.' On p. 426 there is a redundant word—'who.' We are surprised to find Mr. Vaux saying that the idea of registering churchings would scarcely ever occur to a clergyman now. We thought that such a register was kept in all well-worked parishes, partly to prevent neglect in baptizing children.

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The Journal of Theological Studies (Vol. IV. No. 15. April 1903. Macmillan and Co.) 'Penitential Discipline in the First Three Centuries,' by H. B. Swete. 'Psalms cx.,' by E. G. King. In spite of our Lord's reference to this Psalm, the writer thinks there is little doubt that David was not the author. 'The Greek Monasteries in South Italy (I.),' by K. Lake. 'Reason and Revelation,' by C. J. Shebbeare. The writer fully realizes the merits of Dr. Illingworth's book, but laments the author's 'partial distrust of philosophy.' Documents: 'Texts attributed to Peter of Alexandria,' by W. E. Crum. Notes and Studies: 'The Greek Translators of Ezekiel,' by H. St. John Thackeray. 'On Some Early MSS. of the Gregorianum,' by Edmund Bishop. 'Chapters in the History of Latin MSS. (III.): The Lyons-Petersburg MS. of Councils,' by C. H. Turner. 'Two Notes on Isaiah xli. 5-7,' by S. R. Driver and A. F. Kirkpatrick. 'The Syriac Interpretation of St. John i. 3-4,' by F. C. Burkitt. 'Note on Acts xli. 25,' by J. Vernon Bartlet. 'Tertullian's Use of Substantia, Natura, and Persona,' by J. F. Bethune-Baker. 'Three Passages in SS. Ignatius and Polycarp,' by T. Nicklin. Reviews: 'Addresses on the Acts of the Apostles' (Archbishop Benson), by L. J. M. Bebb. 'Die Oracula Sibyllina' (Dr. J. Geffcken), by R. H. Charles. Chronicle: 'Old Testament Books,' by W. Emery Barnes. 'Dogmatica,' by S. C. Gayford.

The Expositor (No. XL.-XLIII. April-July 1903. Hodder and Stoughton). 'Christianity and Judaism,' by A. F. Kirkpatrick. 'The Teaching of Christ,' by H. B. Swete. From the 'Marcan tradition.' Regards as the chief characteristics of Christ's teaching its inwardness, its practical direction, its universality, its authoritative tone. 'The Parable of the "Unjust" Steward,' by W. O. E. Oesterley. The writer holds that the aim of this parable is to teach the need of consistency. 'The Late Canon Bright on Montanism,' by E. C. Selwyn. 'The Prelude,' by George Adam Smith. Discusses the history and site of Jerusalem in the days of Abd-Khiba. 'Translations from the Prophets: Jeremiah xi. 9-xii. 6, xlii. and xliii.,' by S. R. Driver. May: 'The Beginnings of the History,' by George Adam Smith. 'The Companionship of the Twelve,' by A. E. Garvie. 'Translations from the Prophets: Jeremiah xli. 7, xvi. 9,' by S. R. Driver. 'The Meaning of τοῦτο ποιεῖτε,' by F. W. Mozley. Contents for the sacrificial meaning of ποιεῖτε. 'Missionary Methods in the Times of the Apostles,' by Theod. Zahn. June: 'The Teaching of Christ,' by H. B. Swete. From the 'Matthian tradition.' The teaching presents the same features as in the 'Marcan tradition,' but the scope is wider. 'Hostile and Alien Evidence for Christ at Passiontide,' by Arthur Carr. 'Some Fresh Bible Parallels from the History of Morocco,' by T. H. Weir. 'The Johannine View of the Crucifixion,' by Newport J. D. White. The main aspect of the death of Christ as viewed by St. John is its *atonement virtue*. 'A New View about "Ambrosiaster,"' by Alexander Souter. 'Science and the Flood,' by T. G. Bonney. July: 'The Edition of the Revised Version with marginal references,' by Dr. Stokoe. 'The Fatherhood of God,' by G. S. Streatfeild. 'Catholic Epistles of Thémison: a Study in 1 and 2 Peter,' by T. Barns. 'The Gospel of Work,' by Hugh Black.

The Critical Review (Vol. XIII. No. 3. May 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'Myers's Personality and Survival of Bodily Death,' by H. Wheeler Robinson. Though the writer is not apparently prepared to accept Myers's main conclusions he is sensible of the greatness of his book, and predicts for it a lasting

influence. 'Harnack's Mission and Expansion of Christianity,' by J. H. Wilkinson.

The Hibbert Journal (Vol. I. No. 3. April 1903. Williams and Norgate). 'Optimism and Immortality,' by C. Lowes Dickinson. The writer asks: 'What hypothesis ought we logically to accept if we are to justify optimism to our reason?' to which he replies: 'That the world is not eternally good, but embodies a real (not apparent) process in time towards a good end; that this end is one in which all individuals will somehow participate; that therefore individual souls must be immortal and must all of them ultimately reach heaven.' These are postulates which may appeal to a large class, but it is doubtful how far the writer is himself influenced by them. 'Martineau's Philosophy,' by A. Seth Pringle-Pattison. 'Buddhism as a Living Force,' T. W. Rhys Davids. 'The Failure of Christian Missions in India,' by Josiah Oldfield. Finds the chief cause for the failure of missions in the lack of spirituality among missionaries, their ignorance of the Hindu character, their inadequate intellectual equipment. 'The Drifting of Doctrine,' by J. P. Mahaffy. Discusses the general departure from the orthodox belief with regard to the future life. 'Recent Aspects of the Johannine Problem,' by B. W. Bacon. Professor Bacon is evidently disinclined to accept the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel, though he declines to state more than the guarded conclusion that the evidence is as much against it as in its favour. 'Did Paul write Romans?' by Paul Wilh. Schmiedel. A reply to the previous article by Professor Smith. 'Auguste Sabatier and the Paris School of Theology,' by George B. Stevens.

The Expository Times (Vol. XIV. Nos. 8-10. May-July 1903. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark). Contains much interesting matter, the more important contributions being: 'The Fact of the Atonement,' by Robert Mackintosh, in which the writer, while accepting the fact of the Atonement, interprets it by a theory of his own. 'Ezekiel's Vision of the Temple,' by G. C. M. Douglas. An able review of Flint's 'Agnosticism,' by James Iverach. June: 'Who was Judas Thomas?' by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis. The new edition of the 'Didascalia,' by Eb. Nestle. 'Traces of Tree Worship in the Old Testament,' by R. Bruce Taylor. This worship the writer maintains was shared by the Israelites with the whole Semitic race. 'Herman Schultz,' by J. A. Paterson. 'The Transfiguration,' by A. E. Burn. 'Who wrote the Fourth Gospel?' by A. N. Jannaris. 'The Descent into Hell,' by De Lacy O'Leary. 'Teaching of Jesus concerning Himself,' by George Jackson. 'Recent Biblical and Oriental Archaeology,' by A. H. Sayce.

The Dublin Review (Vol. CXXXII. No. 265. April 1903. Burns and Oates). 'The Pontifical Jubilee of Pope Leo XIII.,' by the Bishop of Newport. The writer professes to believe that the Pope's temporal power will be eventually restored. 'The New Education Act, 1902,' by Patrick Lynch. Considers the Act, on the whole, both wise and just. Writer expresses his belief that 'the Catholics of this country will be among the foremost to work the Act loyally and join hands to make it a success.' 'A Stain upon the Statute Book,' by J. B. Milburn. 'Oxford and Louvain,' by L. C. Casartelli. 'Religion as a Credible Doctrine,' by Vincent McNabb. Criticises in the severest terms Mr. Mallock's recent work. 'The Gospel read to St. Francis in *Transitu*,' by Montgomery Carmichael. 'The Nomen Tetragrammaton in Genesis iv. 1,' by Dom Adalbert Amandolini. 'The Shekinah and the Real Presence,' by J. Freeland. The

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writer believes the Real Presence in the Mass to be the Shekinah. He gives this as an argument for the reservation of the Sacrament.

The English Historical Review (Vol. XVIII. No. 70. April 1903. Longmans, Green and Co.). 'Gian Matteo Giberti, Papal Politician and Catholic Reformer,' by Miss M. A. Tucker, Part II. Sets before us the period of Giberti's life when as Bishop of Verona he devoted himself to the encouragement of learning and the enforcing of strict discipline among the clergy. Reviews of Books include 'Papers of the British School at Rome,' G. McN. Rushforth's 'S. Maria Antiqua,' T. Ashby's 'Classical Topography of Roman Campagna,' by H. M. Bannister, and Charles de Lasteyries' 'L'Abbaye de Saint Martial de Limoges,' by T. F. Tout.

The Classical Review (May and June 1903. David Nutt). 'Version: From the Wisdom of Solomon, xviii. 5,' by W. Headlam. Remarks a similarity to the Pindaric style. 'The British School at Rome,' by W. H. D. Rouse, discusses briefly Mr. Rushforth's recent paper on the Church of S. Maria Antiqua. 'Two Pamphlets on Malta,' Albert Mayr and Richard Wunsch, by W. H. D. Rouse. The second pamphlet contains interesting remarks on the connexion between St. John Baptist and Adonis. In an emendation in *Logia Jesu* (III.), Mr. Frank Granger adduces two passages from Hermes Trismegistus, apparently based on this *Logion*, and which have the reading *ῥήματα* for *διδώματα*: 'I found all becoming drunk, and none found I sober among them.' Mr. H. Richards gives a brief notice of Padelford's *Essays on the Study and Use of Poetry by Plutarch and Basil the Great*. Basil viewed pagan poetry as a 'propædæutic to Christian teaching, a *συναγχαλία* of truer virtue.' Mr. A. B. Cook continues his interesting papers on 'Zeus, Jupiter, and the Oak.'

The Jewish Quarterly Review (Vol. XV. No. 59. April 1903. Macmillan and Co.). 'Translation of the Letter of Aristæas,' by H. St. J. Thackeray. 'The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments,' by F. C. Burkitt. Regards the Papyrus as an extract complete in itself, possibly having been buried as a charm with its former owner. Date not later than first century A.D. Poetry.—'In the Sweat Shop.' Translated from the Yiddish of Moris Rosenfeldt, by Dr. Henry Berkowitz. 'Auto de Fé and Jew,' by E. N. Adler. 'The Wisdom of Ben Sira,' by C. Taylor. 'The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Judaism,' by David Philipson. The writer thoroughly sympathises with the movement; he describes at considerable length the efforts made by the reformers to preserve the life and vigour of Judaism by ridding it of the deadening weight of tradition. 'The Arabic Portion of the Cairo Genizah,' by I. Goldziher. 'The Jews in Portugal from 1773 to 1902,' by Cardozo de Bethencourt.

The Contemporary Review (No. 448-451. April-July, 1903. Horace Marshall and Son). 'Should Churchmen make for Disestablishment?' By Oscar D. Watkins. Yes—if the Church's freedom is to be preserved. The writer believes that a fairer settlement would be effected if the proposal came first from the side of the clergy. 'The "Encyclopædia Biblica" and the Gospels: a Rejoinder,' by A. N. Jannaris. Accuses Dr. Abbot of accepting an incorrect reading of Eusebius. The article shows the incompetence both of Professor Jannaris and the editor. 'The Kaiser's Letter on Christ and Revelation,' by Adolf Harnack. Professor Harnack expresses himself in agreement with much of the Kaiser's letter, but he cannot let pass the statements with regard to 'a double revelation' and the Godhead of Christ. 'In an old Scots City,' by Patrick Geddes. Dwells forcibly on the degradation of the masses in great cities. 'The New Education Schemes,' by D. Lloyd George. June: 'The Church and the

Education Bill,' by G. W. Kekewich. The statement which begins this article is sufficient for us to infer all that follows: 'The Education Act may be more properly called an Act for the further educational endowment of the Church of England out of the rates.' Sir G. Kekewich's utterances since he left the department are a conclusive proof of his incompetence both in ability and character for his work. 'Habitual Confession for the Young,' by Ambrose J. Wilson. 'The Church of Rome in Spain,' by Joseph MacCabe. Gives a terrible picture of the depraved state of Spain, for which the writer holds the Church responsible. Probably the facts are bad enough, yet in reading this article we cannot altogether lose sight of Mr. MacCabe's personal animosity to the Church. 'The Ethical Individual and Immortality,' by Emma Marie Caillard. In 'Four Days in a Factory,' the Honourable Mrs. Bertrand Russell gives a vivacious and suggestive account of her experiences as an *employée* at a rope factory. The 'Survival of the Soul,' a sensible and sympathetic *critique*, by Professor Muirhead, of Mr. F. W. H. Myers's new book on 'Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death.' As a system, the results of psychical research are a failure; as part of a wider philosophy they may prove to be of the greatest importance.

The Edinburgh Review (No. 404. April, 1903. Longmans, Green and Co.). 'The late Lord Acton.' Gives a brief survey of his career in its religious and literary aspects.

The Quarterly Review (No. 394. April, 1903. John Murray). 'Byzantium or Ravenna: a Dissertation on Christian Architecture.' 'The Irish University Question.' The writer treats the subject exhaustively. The conclusions at which he finally arrives are far from encouraging. 'London Education and the Act of 1902.' An estimate of the new Act—wherein it has succeeded—and wherein it has failed.

The Monthly Review (No. 32-4. May-July 1903. John Murray). 'History and Dogma,' by T. Bailey Saunders. Requires of dogmas that they should become 'the embodiment of an immediate spiritual experience.' June: 'The Philosophy of James Martineau,' by Reginald Balfour. In 'Luke addressing John the Apostle,' Dr. A. N. Jannaris identifies the Theophilus, mentioned in St. Luke's prologue, with St. John (Θεόφιλος—cf. *Johanan*—ὁ ὁ Θεὸς φίλος). In St. John i. 14 he finds an allusion to the Transfiguration; and on these two suppositions he relies for proof of the genuineness of the Johannine writings. The article is a 'foreword' in reference to the writer's forthcoming edition of the Fourth Gospel. The suggestion is absurd.

The Economic Review (Vol. VIII. No. 2. April 1903. Rivingtons). 'Rural England,' by L. R. Phelps. Suggests remedies to prevent the depopulation of rural districts. Based on Mr. Rider Haggard's recent book. 'The Later Economics of Émile Zola,' by Herbert W. Blunt. 'The Moral Principles of Compensation in Temperance Reform,' by F. J. Western. 'Co-operation and Commercial Morality,' by E. F. Forrest. As a remedy against corrupt practices, recommends that the co-operators should increase the salaries of officials in positions of trust.

Studi Religiosi (Anno III. Fasc. II.-III. March-May, 1903. Firenze). S. Minocchi: 'Storia dei Salmi.—La Poesie dei Salmi fino all' Esilio di Babilonia.' G. Bonaccorsi: 'L'Essenza del Cristianesimo secondo il Professor Harnack.' 'Le fonti della predicazione di Gesù.—La predicazione di Gesù.' F. Mari;

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'L'originale ebraico dell' Ecclesiastico recentemente scoperto.' M. F. Nuovi : 'Studi sui Vangeli dell' Abate Loisy.' The May number contains a translation of Harnack's 'Einige Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Entstehung des Neuen Testaments,' by S. Minocchi, who also contributes a further article on the Pauls; and an account of Galileo's controversies by G. Semeria.

Teologisk Tidsskrift (Bind 4. Hæfte 3-4. Kjøbenhavn. 1903). P. D. Kock: 'Om Villiens Frihed.' J. P. Bang: 'Apologetisk Metode og apologetiske Opgaver.' 'Ny Eksegetisk Literatur,' F. Torm. 'Om Zinzendorf og Brødremenigheden,' K. Heiberg. 'J. C. Heuch: Med Strømmen,' J. Steen. 'Kyrkohistoriska Föreningen's Skrifter,' J. O. Andersen. 'Missionsliteratur,' L. Bergmann. 'En tysk Bog og en dansk Betragtning,' Edv. Lehmann. 'Franz Xaver Kraus,' L. Bergmann. 'Svenskt Kyrkolif år 1902,' A. Holm. 'Den norske Kirke i Aaret 1902,' M. I. Gjessing.

Revue de l'Orient Chrétien (No. 1. 1903. Paris, A. Picard et fils). 1. 'Vie de Saint Auxence,' Léon Clugnet. 2. 'Mont Saint-Auxence,' Jules Parjoire. 'Sophron le Sophiste et Sophron le patriarche,' Siméon Vailhé. 'Nicéphore Mélissène, évêque de Naxos et de Cotrone,' Émile Legrand. 'Vies et récits d'anachorètes (IV-VII^e Siècles). 1. Analyse de MS. grec de Paris, 1596, par l'Abbé F. Nau. 2. Textes grecs inédits extraits du même MS. et publiés par Léon Clugnet. 'Relations officielles entre la cour romaine et les Sultans Mamlouks d'Egypte,' H. Lammens. 'La rebaptisation des latins chez les grecs,' A. P. 'Le patriarcat Maronite d'Antioche,' P. Chebly. 'Déposition du patriarche Marc Xylocarvi,' Louis Petit. 'Russes et Nosairis,' P. Lammens.

Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique (No. 2. Avril 1903. Louvain). G. Rasneur: 'L'Homolousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie.' François Béthune: 'Les écoles historiques de Saint-Denis et Saint-Germain-des-Prés dans leurs rapports avec la composition des *Grandes Chroniques de France*.' F. Mayence: 'Note papyrologique.' D. G. Morin: 'Un fragment du rouleau mortuaire du cardinal bénédictin Milon de Palestrina.' H. Coppieters: 'La Collection des *Texts and Studies*.' Ch.-F. Bellet: 'Le Saint Suaire de Turin.'

Revue Biblique Internationale (No. 2. April 1903. Paris: Lecoqffre). M. A. Van Hoonacker: 'Une question touchant la composition du livre de Job.' M. S. Minocchi: 'I Salmi Messianici.' R. P. Lagrange: 'L'ange de Jahve.' Combats the view that the 'angel of the Lord' in the Old Testament was a manifestation of Jahweh Himself. Pierre Batiffol: 'L'Eglise Naissante. Le Canon du Nouveau Testament.' 'De la tendance moderne à poétiser l'Ancien Testament,' Ed. König. 'Une terre coulant du lait avec du miel,' I. Guidi. 'Coutumes Arabes,' R. P. A. Janssen. 'Callirhoé et Bearon,' J. Manfredi. 'Notes d'épigraphie palestinienne,' R. P. Vincent. 'Le haut-lieu de Pétra.—Fouilles anglaises,' R. P. M.-R. Savignac.

Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique (No. 4-6. Avril-Juin. 1903. Paris: Lecoqffre.) 'La Morale de la Solidarité,' Jacques Baylac. 'La formation de la Légende de Sainte Enimie,' Louis Saltet. 'Notes Patristiques.' Mai: 'L'Eucharistie dans le Nouveau Testament,' Pierre Batiffol. As the first step in his history of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, Mgr. Batiffol examines the evidence in the New Testament; the testimony of St. Paul and St. Luke is here considered. Le P. Henry Guillermin: 'Un nouveau manifeste catholique d'agnosticisme,' E. Faron. 'Newman et la théorie de la connaissance religieuse,' thèse de M. la Juillière.

Analecta Bollandiana (Janvier, Avril 1903. Tom. XXII. Fasc. 1, 2. Brussels). Hipp. Delehaye: 'S. Melaniae Junioris Acta Graeca.' Fr. Van Ortoy: 'Martyrum monachorum Carthusianorum in Anglia Passio minor, auctore Mauritio Chauncy.' Gives Maurice Chauncy's account of martyrdom of the Carthusian monks in the time of Henry VIII., and his three letters of supplication to Pope Gregory XIII. 'Bulletin des publications hagiographiques. Supplementum ad Repertorium Hymnologicum auctore R. D. M. Chevalier' (continued April). Avril: Hipp. Delehaye: 'S. Barlaam, martyr à Antioche.' Contends for the genuineness of the legend of S. Barlaam. Alb. Poncelet: 'Relation originale du prêtre Idon sur la translation de S. Liboire à Paderborn.' Alb. Poncelet: 'La plus ancienne Vie de S. Riquier.' F. van Ortoy: 'Saint François d'Assise et frère Elie de Cortone.' Shows in what respect Dr. Lemppe's attitude differs from Sabatier's. 'Bulletin des publications hagiographiques.' Herbertus Thurston: 'Visio Monachi de Eynsham.'

The American Journal of Theology (Vol. VII. No. 2. April 1903. Chicago). 'Emperor Frederick II., the Hohenstaufe,' by Walther Köhler. Dr. Weiss's 'Text of the Gospels: The Thoughts of a Textual Critic on the Text of an Exegete,' by K. Lake. 'Religion and Morality,' by Charles Gray Shaw. Seeks to determine the essential difference between religion and morality and their real point of contact. They are distinct concepts: religion is positive and historical—ethics subjective and normative; at the same time they are closely interrelated. Morality is necessary to religion, while religion points out the value of morality. By means of religion 'the soul of man attains to a blessedness which is not of morality, but which cannot exist apart from this.' 'Public Worship from the Point of View of the Christian Musician,' by George Coleman Gow. Advice on the most suitable rendering of church music to all engaged in its production. 'The Geography of the Septuagint,' by Henry A. Redpath. Critical Note. 'Brahmanistic Parallels in the Apocryphal New Testament,' by Louis H. Gray. Recent Theological Literature.

The Princeton Theological Review (Vol. I. No. 2. April 1903. Philadelphia: MacCalla and Co.). The successor to *The Presbyterian and Reformed Review*. 'The Alleged Legalism in Paul's Doctrine of Justification,' by Gerhardus Vos. 'St. Bernard of Clairvaux,' by David S. Schaff. Gives us an admirable sketch of St. Bernard, yet that the writer does not altogether sympathise with the aspirations of the saint is evident from the unqualified assertion that 'the monastic ideals of the Middle Ages were wrong.' 'The Practical Importance of Apologetics,' by William Brenton Greene, jun. Examines into the functions of apologetics; insists upon the importance of convincing rational beings of the reasonableness of their faith; proposes that general meetings should be held after Sunday services to discuss difficulties of belief; and advises that preaching should be made more doctrinal. 'The New Era in Evangelism,' by David R. Breed. 'Babylon and Israel,' by Robert Dick Wilson. A comparison of their leading ideas based upon their vocabularies. The writer's investigation has led him to adopt a reverse view from that of Professor Delitzsch. 'Christianity in the College,' by D. W. Fisher. Emphasizes the importance of direct Christian instruction. 'Jacobus de Voragine and the Golden Legend,' by Ernest C. Richardson. 'The Proposed Amendments to the Confession,' by Edward B. Hodge. Royce's 'The World and the Individual,' Henry C. Minton. Recent Theological Literature.

The Catholic World (April-July, 1903. New York). 'The Sun's Place in

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the Universe,' by George M. Searle. The writer argues, not very convincingly, that the idea of a vast number of inhabited worlds is not at variance with theology. 'The Irish Priest as Novelist,' by P. A. Sillard. An appreciative estimate of Dr. Sheehan's works. 'The Employer's Obligation to pay a Living Wage,' by John A. Ryan. The obligation rests 'on the human dignity of the labourer.' May: 'Mr. W. H. Mallock's Defence of Religion,' by James J. Fox. By his last book Mr. Mallock has forfeited the approval of Roman Catholics. In this article his theories, especially that relating to the basis of religion, are vigorously attacked. June: 'Skinner versus Washington,' by James J. Fox. Urges the uselessness of teaching morality without religion. 'A Study of Dr. Brownson,' by J. Fairfax McLaughlin. 'Musings,' by Albert Reynaud. A defence of dogma. In 'Germany and Russia at the Vatican,' Mr. I. T. Murphy claims for Leo XIII. the 'greatest political influence on earth.' He regards King Edward's visit as merely a 'notable incident,' while that of the Kaiser was of the highest political significance. 'Ludwig Van Beethoven' by Georgina Pell Curtis. An interesting sketch of the great musician as a sincere Christian believer.

The East and the West (Vol. I. No. 2. April, 1903. S.P.C.K.) 'The Moral Tone in India,' by the Bishop of Lahore. Paints the immoral and corrupt state of India in strong colours. 'An Anglican Episcopate in Latin-American Lands: a Justification,' by L. L. Kinsolving. 'The Reform of Mohammedan Education in India.' A speech made by Aga Khan to two thousand Mahommedan delegates. It exhibits in a remarkable degree a desire for progress and improvement. Aga Khan recognises the Moslems' indebtedness to the British Government with regard to education, and urges the adoption of European methods. 'Methods of Missionary Work in South Africa: a Criticism,' by Herbert Kelly. Advocates more extensive native co-operation. 'The Function of the Colonial Churches in our Missionary Expansion,' by Bishop Barry. 'Missionary Work and Native Education in India,' by H. T. Dodson. The writer believes the most effectual means of converting India to be in winning over first the Hindus of higher caste. This is to be brought about, he hopes, by means of Christian colleges for Brahmins. 'Men and Money in the East and in the West,' by J. H. Sharrock. In this article exactly the reverse view is set forth to that of the previous one. Conversion, it is said, must begin with the lowest of the people, while colleges for Brahmins are styled 'expensive failures.'

BOOKS RECEIVED, PAMPHLETS, REPRINTS, ETC.

From Macmillan and Co.

Addresses on the Temptation, by EDWARD LEE HICKS, M.A. 3s.

The Golden Sayings of Epictetus, with the Hymn of Cleanthes. Translated and arranged by HASTINGS CROSSLEY, M.A. 2s. 6d. This is a useful addition to the admirable 'Golden Treasury' series, putting forth in an attractive way, with the help of a clearly written Preface and interesting Notes and Appendices, the characteristic teaching of the great Stoic—as it is rendered on p. 147, 'Bear and Forbear.'

The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table, by OLIVER WENDELL HOLMES. 2s. 6d. Another excellent representative of the 'Golden Treasury' series, enriched with an Introduction by Leslie Stephen.

Phillips Brooks Year Book, by H. L. S. and L. H. S. 3s. 6d. net.
Attractively got up and well arranged.

From Fred P. Mellish.

Scripture and Science not at variance in the Statements of Genesis I., by Rev. OWEN BULKELEY.

From St. Giles Printing Company.

The Conspiracy against the Faith, by the BISHOP OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES.

From A. and C. Black.

Critica Biblica. Part II., Ezekiel and minor Prophets, and Part III., I. and II. Samuel, by T. K. CHRYNE, Litt.D., D.D. 3s. A collection of critical notes on the text. The textual corrections are supplementary and original.

The Apostles' Teaching. 'Guild Text Books' series. Part I., 'The Pauline Theology,' by W. P. PATERSON, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Aberdeen. 6d.

From Methuen and Co.

Sacra Privata. By BISHOP WILSON. Edited by A. E. BURN. 2s.

From W. H. Gill and Son.

Wreaths of Song from a Course of Divinity. By the Author of *Wreaths of Song from Courses of Philosophy*. 2s.

From Hodder and Stoughton.

Behold the Lamb of God. By RUTHERFORD WADDELL, M.A., D.D. 5s. Traces through Scripture the evolution and coronation of the Lamb. We cannot read these sermons without pleasure. They are simple and attractive in style, and the subject is an interesting one.

The Programme of the Jesuits. By W. BLAIR NEATBY, M.A. 3s. 6d.

From the Church Printing Company.

S. Columba, a sacred drama in two acts. By G. J. A. D'ARCY. 1s.

From W. and R. Holmes.

An Appeal to the Scottish Churches and the Scottish People for a Christian Education in the National Schools. By a PRESBYTER OF THE SCOTTISH EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

From Duckworth and Co.

Church Discipline: an Ethical Study of the Church of Rome. By JOSEPH McCABE. 3s. Mr. McCabe writes as a humanist. It is in tracing the ethical ideal working in the world's religions—that is, with the science of comparative religion—that he is really concerned. In this light he interprets the ethical system of Rome: inquiring into every detail of its elaborate structure; dwelling upon its æsthetic charm; allowing himself to appreciate and admire. Throughout the book Mr. McCabe preserves a studiously moderate tone. Whatever our sympathies may be, we cannot fail to be interested.

From Chapman and Hall.

The Art Workers' Quarterly. April 1903. 2s. 6d.

From the Free Age Press.

The Overthrow of Hell and its Restoration. By LEO TOLSTOY. 1d.

An Appeal to the Clergy. By LEO TOLSTOY.

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The Nature Student's Note Book. Part I. By Rev. Canon STEWARD. Part II. By ALICE MITCHELL.

Selected Poems of George Meredith. 3s. 6d. An attractively-bound little book, containing some very charming poetry.

Human Immortality. By WILLIAM JAMES. Professor James deals with the subject shortly, yet finds room for the expression of many striking and original ideas.

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The Character of the Saint. Addresses to Boys. By the Ven. F. de W. LUSHINGTON, M.A., Archdeacon of Malta. 1s. 3d. net.

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Reports on the Administration of Rhodesia, 1900-1902.

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We hope to return to this stately volume in our next issue.

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Gleanings in Church History, chiefly in Spain and France. By Rev. WENTWORTH WEBSTER, M.A. Oxon., Corresponding Member of the Royal Academy of History of Madrid. 4s.

A Plea for the Parson. By Canon BEECHING. A reprint from *Religio Laici*. Interesting and timely. 6d.

The Church Navy. Thoughts on the Pioneer Work of the Church. By Rev. C. T. OVENDEN, D.D. 3s.

Useful for those engaged in parochial work among the poor, and suggestive generally. The same remark will apply to the next book.

Pioneer Clubs for Working Men. By Rev. H. G. D. LATHAM, M.A.

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Christian Science. By Dean LEFROY. Sermons preached in Norwich Cathedral, contrasting Christian Science with Christian Faith and with itself. 2s. 6d.

The Shepherd of Hermas. Vol. I. A volume of the Early Church Classics series. By the Rev. Dr. TAYLOR, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge. 2s.

The Old Man's Psalm. Thoughts for Aged People on the Seventy-first Psalm. By G. ROBERT WYNNE, D.D., Archdeacon of Aghadoe. 1s. 6d.

A suitable gift-book for old people, printed in large clear type.

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